

THE
WORKS
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS,

Send for proof.

T H E

W O R K S

O F

1132

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

B Y

ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

W I T H

*x 2942.3
Vol. 2.*

AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS;

J.

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque
ex polleritate et infamiâ metus fit.

TACITUS, Annals, iii. f. 65.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCXCIII.

65, 66, 67

Wm. C. Cushing.

June 7, 1859.

THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

BOOK XI.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XI.

- I. *THE* condemnation and death of Valerius Asiaticus and Poppæa, by the artifices of Messalina. IV. Two Roman knights put to death for a dream. V. The iniquity of the public advocates. A motion in the senate to revive the Cincian law, which prohibited the taking of fees. Debates on that subject. The legal fee ascertained, and beyond that all to be deemed guilty of extortion. VIII. Commotions among the Parthians: Bardanes put to death, and Gotarzes fixed on the throne. XI. The secular games exhibited at Rome, in the year eight hundred from the foundation of the city. XII. The criminal loves of Messalina and Caius Silius. XIII. Claudius ignorant of his wife's adultery. He discharges his censorial functions. He adds three letters to the Roman alphabet. An account of the origin of letters. XV. The college of augurs put under new regulations. XVI. The Cherusicans send from Germany to desire a king from Rome. Italicus, the nephew of Arminius, is sent, and well received: a party formed against him: a civil war ensues: he proves victorious. XVIII. Corbulo sent to command in Lower Germany. He introduces the strictest discipline; subdues the Chaucians, and meditates further conquests. He puts Gannascus, a German chief, to death. He receives orders from Claudius to repass the Rhine. XX. Curtius Rufus, for the discovery of a mine, obtains triumphal ornaments. An account of his origin, his rise, and character. XXII. Cneius

CONTENTS OF BOOK XI.

Novius detected with a dagger in the prince's presence: his fortitude on the rack. The first institution of the Roman quæstor: the history of that office in its progress. XXIII. Debates about filling the vacancies in the senate. The nobility of Gaul claim to be admitted. Speeches against that measure. The emperor's reply to the whole argument. The Gauls carry their point. Claudius refuses the title of Father of the Senate. XXVI. The frantic loves of Messalina and Silius. He proposes to marry the empress. She agrees: the nuptial ceremony, during the absence of Claudius, performed in the most public manner. XXIX. The freedmen bent on her destruction. Two courtesans, by the direction of Narcissus, inform the emperor. XXXI. Messalina diverts herself, and celebrates the autumnal season in the highest gaiety. Claudius returns from Ostia. Narcissus, his freedman, leads him to the camp. Silius and his confederates put to death. XXXVII. Claudius at a banquet wavers in favour of Messalina. Narcissus orders her execution. Her death in the gardens of Lucullus. The stupidity of Claudius. Narcissus obtains the ensigns of quæstorian rank.

These transactions include two years.

Years of Rome—of Christ

Consuls

800	47	<i>Claudius, 4th time, Lucius Vitellius, 3d time.</i>
801	48	<i>Aulus Vitellius, L. Vipsanius.</i>

T H E
A N N A L S
O F
T A C I T U S.

B O O K X I.

I. **M**ESSALINA was convinced that Poppæa had been for some time engaged in a course of adultery with Valerius Asiaticus, who had enjoyed the honour of two consulships. She had, besides, an eye to the elegant gardens, formerly the pride of Lucullus, which Asiaticus had improved in the highest taste and magnificence. Bent on the destruction of Poppæa and her lover, she suborned Suillius (*a*) to carry on the prosecution. Sosibius, the tutor of Britannicus, entered into the conspiracy. This man had the ear of Claudius. In secret whispers, and under a mask of friendship, he alarmed the emperor with the necessity of being on his guard against the machinations of his enemies. “Overgrown wealth,” he said, “in
“ the

B O O K
X I.
A. U. C.
800.
A. D.
47.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.
800.
A. D.
47.

“ the hands of a private citizen, is always big with danger to
 “ the reigning prince. When Caligula fell, Asiaticus was the
 “ principal actor in that bloody tragedy. He owned the fact in
 “ a full assembly of the people, and claimed the glory of the
 “ deed (*b*). That bold exploit has made him popular at Rome;
 “ his fame is spread through the provinces: and, even now, he
 “ meditates a visit to the German armies. Born at Vienne (*c*),
 “ he has great family interest and powerful connections in Gaul.
 “ A man thus supported will be able to incite his countrymen
 “ to a revolt.” The hint was enough for Claudius. Without
 further enquiry, he dispatched Crispinus, who commanded the
 prætorian guards, with a band of soldiers. Their march re-
 sembled a body of troops going on a warlike expedition. Asia-
 ticus was seized at Baiæ, and brought to Rome in chains.

II. HE was not suffered to appear before the senate. The
 cause was heard in the emperor's chamber, in the presence of
 Messalina. Suillius stood forth as prosecutor. He stated the
 corruption of the army, and accused Asiaticus as the author of it.
 By bribes, by largesses, and by the practice of abominable vices,
 the soldiers were seduced from their duty: they were prepared
 for any enterprise, however atrocious. The crime of adultery
 with Poppæa helped to swell the charge; and, to crown all, the
 prisoner had unmanned himself by his unnatural passions. Stung
 to the quick by this imputation, Asiaticus turned to the prose-
 cutor, “ And ask your sons,” he said; “ they will tell you that
 “ I am a man.” He went into his defence in such a strain of
 pathetic eloquence, that Claudius felt the strongest emotions.
 Even Messalina dropped a tear. She left the room to wipe the
 gush of nature from her eyes; but first charged Vitellius not to
 suffer the prisoner to escape. In the mean time, she hastened
 the destruction of Poppæa. She sent her agents to alarm her

with the horrors of a jail, and drive her, by that dismal prospect, to an act of desperation. Her malice was unknown to Claudius. He was so little in the secret, that, a few days afterwards, having invited Scipio as his guest, he asked him, "Why his wife was not of the party (*a*)?" Scipio made answer, "She is dead."

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

III. CLAUDIUS was, for some time, in suspense. He was inclined to favour Asiaticus, but Vitellius interposed. With tears in his eyes, he talked of the friendship which had long subsisted between the prisoner and himself; he mentioned their mutual habits at the court of Antonia, the emperor's mother; he stated the public merit of Asiaticus; and, in particular, the glory of his late expedition into Britain: he omitted nothing that could excite compassion, but, at last, concluded (with a stroke of treachery), that to allow him to choose his mode of dying was an indulgence due to so distinguished a character. This cruel species of clemency was adopted by Claudius. The friends of Asiaticus recommended abstinence, as a mode of death easy and gradual. He scorned the pretended lenity, and betook himself to his usual exercises. He bathed and supped with alacrity of mind. "To die," he said, "by the intrigues of an artful woman, or the treachery of a debauched and profligate impostor, such as Vitellius, was an ignominious catastrophe. He envied those who perished by the systematic cruelty of Tiberius, or the headlong fury of Caligula." Having declared these sentiments, he opened a vein, and bled to death. Before he gave himself the mortal wound, he had the fortitude to survey his funeral pile. Perceiving that the flame might reach the branches of the trees, and hurt the shade of his garden, he ordered it to be removed to a more distant spot. Such was the tranquillity with which he encountered death.

IV. THE

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.
800.
A. D.
47.

IV. THE senate was convened. Suillius followed his blow. He preferred an accusation against two Roman knights, of the name of Petra; both distinguished by their rank and character. The crime objected to them was, that they had made their house convenient to Poppæa, when she carried on her intrigue with Mneſter. The charge against one of them imported, that, in a dream, his imagination presented to him the figure of Claudius crowned with a sheaf of corn, but the ears inverted downward. This vision was understood by the criminal as the prognostic of an approaching famine. Some will have it, that the wreath consisted of vine branches, with the leaves entirely faded; and this was deemed an omen of the emperor's death towards the end of the ensuing autumn. Whatever it might be, it is certain that it was held to be an act of treason. The two brothers died for a dream. By a decree of the senate, Crispinus was rewarded with fifteen thousand sesterces, and the prætorian dignity. On the motion of Vitellius, a vote of ten thousand sesterces passed in favour of Sosibius, the preceptor of Britannicus, and the faithful adviser of the emperor. In the debate on this occasion, Scipio was called upon for his opinion: he rose, and said, "Since the conduct of my wife Poppæa must appear to me in the same light that it does to this assembly, let me be thought to concur with the general voice." A delicate stroke of prudence, yielding to the necessity of the times, yet not forgetting the ties of conjugal affection.

V. FROM this time, the rage of Suillius knew no bounds. A number of others followed in the same track, all rivals in iniquity. The constitution had been long since annihilated; the functions of the magistrates were wrested out of their hands; the will of the prince was the law; and, by consequence, the
crew

crew of informers grew rich by injustice and oppression. Their eloquence was put up to sale, like any other commodity at market. Samius, a Roman knight of distinction, has left a memorable instance. He had retained Suillius with a fee of ten thousand crowns; but finding that his cause was betrayed, he went to the house of the perfidious orator, and fell upon his own sword. To check this fatal mischief, a motion was made in the senate by Caius Silius, then consul elect. Of this man, his elevation, and his downfall, due notice will be taken hereafter. He represented, in strong colours, the avarice of the advocates. The fathers, with one voice, agreed to revive the Cineian law (*a*), by which it was ordained in ancient times, that no advocate, for a fee, or gratuity of any kind, should prostitute his talents.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

VI. THE informers opposed the motion. They saw that the blow was aimed at themselves. Silius grew more eager. He was at open enmity with Suillius, and, for that reason, pressed the business with his utmost vigour. He cited the orators of ancient times, men of pure and upright principles, who considered honest fame, and the fair applause of posterity, as the true reward of genius. “Eloquence,” he said, “the first of liberal arts, if it condescended to be let out for hire, was no better than a sordid trade. If it became mercenary, and sold itself to the highest bidder, no truth can be expected; integrity is at an end. Take from venal oratory all its views of interest, and the number of suitors will, of course, be diminished. In the reigning corruption of the modern forum, private feuds, mutual accusations, family quarrels, hatred, and animosity are kept alive. The practisers live by the passions of mankind, as physicians thrive by an epidemic distemper. Call to mind Caius Asinius, Marcus Messala, and, among the names of more recent date, remember the Arruntii and the

BOOK
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

“Æserini; men who never set themselves up to auction; never made a bargain and sale of their talents, but rose by their integrity and their unbought eloquence to the highest honours of the state.” This speech from the consul elect was heard with general approbation. The fathers were on the point of declaring, by a decree, that all who took the wages of oratory should be deemed guilty of extortion. Suillius and Cossutianus, with many others who were conscious of their evil practices, clearly saw, that if the decree passed the senate, it would be nothing less than a vote of pains and penalties against themselves. To ward off the blow, they pressed round the emperor, praying an indemnity for past transactions. Claudius seeming by a nod to assent to their petition, they took courage, and argued their case as follows:

VII. “WHERE is the orator who can flatter himself that his name will reach posterity? The interests of society require advocates by profession, men versed in questions of right and wrong, and ready, as well as able, to protect the weak against the proud and affluent. But eloquence is not a gratuitous gift; it is acquired by toil and industry. To conduct the affairs of others, the orator neglects his own concerns. Life is varied with different employments: some betake themselves to the profession of arms; others to the arts of husbandry: no man embraces a particular calling, without having beforehand made an estimate of the profit. Asinius and Messala have been cited: but it was easy for men in their situation, enriched as they were in the civil wars between Augustus and Anthony, to forego all further views of emolument. It was easy for the Arruntii and the Æserini, the heirs of great and opulent families, to act with an elevation of mind superior to the profits of the bar. And yet, we are not now to learn what prodigious

“gious sums Publius Clodius and Caius Curio received as the
 “reward of their eloquence. As to ourselves, we have not the
 “advantages of fortune: in a time of profound tranquillity, it is
 “but just that we should be allowed to live by the arts of peace.”
 “The case of men descended from plebeian families merits
 “consideration. Without the career of eloquence, they have
 “no way to emerge from obscurity. Take from men the just
 “fruit of their studies, and learning will grow to feed.” This
 reasoning was far from honourable, but it had weight with
 Claudius. He took a middle course, and fixed the legal per-
 quisite at the sum of ten thousand sesterces. All who presumed
 to transgress that line were to be deemed guilty of extortion, by
 law compellable to refund.

B O O K
 XI.

A. U. C.
 800.
 A. D.
 47.

VIII. ABOUT this time Mithridates, who, as has been men-
 tioned, swayed the sceptre of Armenia, and was brought in
 chains to the tribunal of Caligula (*a*), was released by the di-
 rection of Claudius. He set out from Rome to take possession
 of his kingdom, relying on the support of his brother Pharas-
 manes, king of Iberia. By advices from that monarch, it ap-
 peared that the Parthian state was convulsed by internal divi-
 sions, and, while the regal diadem was at stake, a people so dis-
 tracted among themselves would not have leisure to engage in
 foreign wars. Gotarzes had seized the throne of Parthia, and
 spilt a deluge of blood. He had murdered his own brother
 Artabanus, with his wife and son, and by these, and other acts
 of cruelty, gave his subjects nothing to expect but slaughter and
 desolation. Determined to shake off the yoke, the people
 planned a revolution in favour of Bardanes, the surviving bro-
 ther of Gotarzes. This prince was by nature formed for en-
 terprise. In two days he made a march of no less than three
 thousand furlongs. He took Gotarzes by surprise, attacked him

B O O K
 XI.
 A. U. C.
 265.
 A. D.
 47.

with sudden fury, and obliged him to consult his safety by flight. He pushed on with vigour to the adjacent provinces, and all, except Seleucia (*b*), submitted without resistance. The inhabitants of that city shut their gates. Fired with indignation against a people, who had offered the same affront to his father, Bardanes yielded to the impulse of resentment, instead of pursuing the measures which prudence dictated. He staid to amuse himself with the siege of a place strong by nature, well fortified, amply provided with stores, and on one side defended by a rapid river (*c*). Gotarzes, in the mean time, having obtained succours from the Dahans (*d*) and Hyrcanians, returned with a powerful army to renew the war. Bardanes was compelled to raise the siege of Seleucia. He retired to the plains of Bactria, and there pitched his camp.

IX. WHILE the east was thus thrown into convulsions, and the fate of Parthia hung on the doubtful event, Mithridates seized the opportunity to invade the kingdom of Armenia. The Roman legions and the Iberians supported the enterprize. By the former, all the forts and places of strength were levelled to the ground, and by the latter, the open country was laid waste. The Armenians, under the conduct of Demonax, at that time governor of the country, hazarded a battle, and, being defeated, were no longer able to make a stand. The new settlement, however, was for some time retarded by Cotys (*a*), king of the lesser Armenia. A party of the nobles had declared in his favour; but, being intimidated by letters from Claudius, they abandoned their project. Mithridates mounted the throne of Armenia, with more ferocity than became a prince in the opening of a new reign. Meanwhile, the competitors for the Parthian monarchy, in the moment when they were going to try the issue of a decisive action, agreed on terms of peace. A conspiracy had

had been formed against them both; but being detected by Gotarzes, the two brothers came to an interview. The meeting was at first conducted with reserve on both sides. After balancing for some time, they embraced; and, taking each other by the hand, bound themselves by an oath before the altar of the gods, to join with their united force, in order to punish the treachery of their enemies, and, on equitable terms, to compromise the war. The people declared for Bardanes. Gotarzes, accordingly, resigned his pretensions; and, to remove all cause of jealousy, withdrew to the remotest parts of Hyrcania. Bardanes returned in triumph; and Seleucia threw open her gates, after having, during a siege of seven years, stood at bay with the whole power of the Parthian monarchy, to the disgrace of a people, who, in such a length of time, were unable to reduce that city to subjection.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

X. BARDANES, without delay, made himself master of the most important provinces. He intended to invade Armenia; but Vibius Marfus, the governor of Syria, threatening to repel him by force, he abandoned the project. Meanwhile, Gotarzes had leisure to repent of his abdication. The Parthian nobility, who in peaceful times are always impatient of the yoke of slavery, invited him to return. Roused by the call of the people, he soon collected a powerful army. Bardanes marched to meet him as far as the banks of the Erinde (*a*). The passage over the river was warmly disputed. After many sharp engagements, Bardanes prevailed. He pushed his conquest with uninterrupted success as far as the river Sinden, which flows between the Dahi and the territory of the Arians. His career of victory ended at that place. Though flushed with the success of their arms, the Parthians disliked a war in regions so far remote. To mark, however, the progress of the victorious troops, and to perpetuate

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

perpetuate the glory of having put under contribution so many distant nations, where the Arfacides had never penetrated, Bardanes raised a monument on the spot, and marched back to Parthia, proud of his exploits, more oppressive than ever, and, by consequence, more detested. A conspiracy was formed to cut him off; and accordingly, while the king on a hunting party, void of all suspicion, pursued the pleasures of the chase, his enemies fell upon him with sudden fury. Bardanes, in the prime and vigour of his days, expired under repeated blows. The glory of his reign, however short, would have eclipsed the few of his predecessors who enjoyed a length of days, if to gain the hearts of his people had been as much his ambition, as it was to render himself the terror of his enemies. By his death the kingdom was once more thrown into commotions. The choice of a successor divided the whole nation into factions. A large party adhered to Gotarzes; others declared for Meherdetes, a descendant of Phraates, at that time a hostage in the hands of the Romans. The interest of Gotarzes proved the strongest; but the people, in a short time, weary of his cruelty and wild profusion, sent a private embassy to Rome, requesting that the emperor would be graciously pleased to send Meherdetes to fill the throne of his ancestors.

XI. DURING the same consulship, in the year of Rome eight hundred, the secular games were celebrated, after an interval of sixty-four years since they were last solemnized in the reign of Augustus. The chronology observed by Augustus differed from the system of Claudius: but this is not the place for a discussion of that point. I have been sufficiently explicit on the subject in the history of Domitian (*a*), who likewise gave an exhibition of the secular games. Being at that time one of the college of fifteen, and invested with the office of prætor, it fell to my province

vince to regulate the ceremonies. Let it not be imagined that this is said from motives of vanity. The fact is, in ancient times the business was conducted under the special directions of the quindecimviral order, while the chief magistrates officiated in the several ceremonies. Claudius thought proper to revive this public spectacle. He attended in the circus, and, in his presence, the Trojan game (*b*) was performed by the youth of noble birth. Britannicus, the emperor's son, and Lucius Domitius, who by adoption took the name of Nero, and afterwards succeeded to the empire, appeared, with the rest of the band, mounted on superb horses. Nero was received with acclamations, and that mark of popular favour was considered as an omen of his future grandeur. A story, at that time current, gained credit with the populace. Nero in his infancy was said to have been guarded by two serpents (*c*); but this idle tale held too much of that love of the marvellous which distinguishes foreign nations. The account given by the prince himself, who was ever unwilling to derogate from his own fame, differed from the common report. He talked of the prodigy, but graced his narrative with one serpent only.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

XII. THE prejudice in favour of Nero rose altogether from the esteem in which the memory of Germanicus was held by the people at large. The only male heir of that admired commander was naturally an object of attention; and the sufferings of his mother Agrippina touched every heart with compassion. Messalina, it was well known, pursued her with unrelenting malice: she was, even then, planning her ruin. Her suborned accusers soon framed a list of crimes; but the execution of her schemes was, for a time, suspended. A new amour, little short of phrensy, claimed precedence of all other passions. Caius Silius (*a*) was the person for whom she burned with all the
2. vehemence

B O O K
XI.A. U. C.
800.
A. D.
47.

vehemence of wild desire. The graces of his form and manner eclipsed all the Roman youth. That she might enjoy her favourite without a rival, she obliged him to repudiate his wife, Junia Silana, though descended from illustrious ancestors. Silius was neither blind to the magnitude of the crime, nor to the danger of not complying. If he refused, a woman scorned would be sure to gratify her revenge; and, on the other hand, there was a chance of deceiving the stupidity of Claudius. The rewards in view were bright and tempting. He resolved to stand the hazard of future consequences, and enjoy the present moment. Messalina gave a loose to love. She scorned to save appearances. She repeated her visits, not in a private manner, but with all her train. In public places she hung enamoured over him; she loaded him with wealth and honours; and at length, as if the imperial dignity had been already transferred to another house, the retinue of the prince, his slaves, his freedmen, and the whole splendour of the court, adorned the mansion of her favourite.

XIII. CLAUDIUS, in the mean time, blind to the conduct of his wife, and little suspecting that his bed was dishonoured, gave all his time to the duties of his censorial office. He issued an edict to repress the licentiousness of the theatre. A dramatic performance had been given to the stage by Publius Pomponius (*a*), a man of consular rank. On that occasion the author, and several women of the first condition, were treated by the populace with insolence and vile scurrility. This behaviour called for the interposition of the prince. To check the rapacity of usurers, a law was also passed, prohibiting the loan of money to young heirs, on the contingency of their father's death. The waters, which have their source on the Simbruine hills (*b*), were conveyed in aqueducts to Rome. Claudius, at the same time, invented the form of new letters, and added them to the Roman
alpha-

alphabet, aware that the language of Greece, in its original state, could not boast of perfection, but received, at different periods, a variety of improvements.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.
800.
A. D.
47.

XIV. THE Ægyptians were the first, who had the ingenuity to express by outward signs the ideas passing in the mind. Under the form of animals they gave a body and a figure to sentiment. Their hieroglyphics were wrought in stone, and are to be seen at this day, the most venerable monuments of human memory. The invention of letters (*a*) is also claimed by the Ægyptians. According to their account, the Phœnicians found legible characters in use throughout Ægypt, and, being much employed in navigation, carried them into Greece; importers of the art, but not intitled to the glory of the invention. The history of the matter, as related by the Phœnicians, is, that Cadmus, with a fleet from their country, passed into Greece, and taught the art of writing to a rude and barbarous people. We are told by others, that Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus the Theban, or Palamedes the Argive, who flourished during the Trojan war, invented sixteen letters (*b*): the honour of adding to the number, and making a complete alphabet, is ascribed to different authors, and, in particular, to Simonides. In Italy, Demaratus of Corinth, and Evander the Arcadian, introduced the arts of civilization: the former taught the Etrurians, and the latter, the aborigines, or natives of the country where he settled. The form of the Latin letters was the same as the characters of the ancient Greeks: but the Roman alphabet, like that of all other nations, was scanty in the beginning. In process of time, the original elements were increased. Claudius added three new letters, which, during the remainder of his reign, were frequently inserted, but after his death fell into disuse. In tables of brass, on which were engraved the ordinances of the people, and which remain to this day,

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

hung up in the temples, and the forum, the shape of the three characters may still be traced.

XV. To regulate the college of augurs was the next care of Claudius. He referred the business to the consideration of the senate, observing to that assembly, “That an ancient and venerable institution ought not to be suffered, for want of due attention, to sink into oblivion. In times of danger, the commonwealth resorted to the soothsayers, and that order of men restored the primitive ceremonies of religion. By the nobility of Etruria the science of future events was esteemed, and cultivated. The authority of the senate gave additional sanctions, and those mysteries have ever since remained in certain families, transmitted from father to son. In the present decay of all liberal science, and the growth of foreign superstition, the sacred mysteries are neglected, and, indeed, almost extinguished. The empire, it is true, enjoys a state of perfect tranquillity; but, surely, for that blessing, the people should bend in adoration to the gods, not forgetting, in the calm season of peace, those religious rites, which saved them in the hour of danger.” A decree passed the senate, directing that the pontiffs should revise the whole system, and retrench or ratify what to them should seem proper.

XVI. IN the course of this year, the Cherusicans applied to Rome for a king to reign over them. They had been distracted by civil dissensions, and in the wars that followed, the flower of their nobility was cut off. Of royal descent there was only one surviving chief, by name Italicus, and he at that time resided at Rome. He was the son of Flavius, the brother of Arminius; by the maternal line, grandson to Catumer, the reigning king of the Cattians. He was comely in his person, expert in the
use

use of arms, and skilled in horsemanship, as well after the Roman manner, as the practice of the Germans. Claudius supplied him with money; appointed guards to escort him; and, by seasonable admonitions, endeavoured to inspire him with sentiments worthy of the elevation to which he was called. He desired him to go forth with courage, and ascend the throne of his ancestors with becoming dignity. He told him, that being born at Rome, and there entertained in freedom, not kept as a prisoner, he was the first, who went clothed with the character of a Roman citizen, to reign in Germany. The prince was received by his countrymen with demonstrations of joy. A stranger to the dissensions, which had for some time disturbed the public tranquillity, he had no party views to warp his conduct. The king of a people, not of a faction, he gained the esteem of all. His praise resounded in every quarter. By exercising the milder qualities of temperance and affability, and, at times, giving himself up to wine and gay carousals, which among Barbarians are esteemed national virtues, he endeared himself to all ranks of men. His fame reached the neighbouring states, and by degrees spread all over Germany.

His popularity, however, gave umbrage to the disaffected. The same turbulent spirits, who had before thrown every thing into confusion, and flourished in the distractions of their country, began to view the new king with a jealous eye. They represented to the adjacent nations, that “the rights of Germany, “transmitted to them by their forefathers, were now at the last “gasps. The grandeur of the Roman empire rises on the ruins “of public liberty. But is the Cheruscan nation at so low an “ebb, that a native, worthy of the supreme authority, cannot “be found amongst them? Is there no resource left, but that of “electing the son of Flavius, that ignominious spy, that traitor

D 2

“ to

B O O K
XI.
A. U. C.
80.
A. D.
47.

BOOK

XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

“ to his country? It is in vain alleged in favour of Italicus, that
 “ he is nephew to Arminius. Were he the son of that gallant
 “ warrior, yet fostered, as he has been, in the arms, and in the
 “ bosom of Rome, he is, by that circumstance, unqualified to
 “ reign in Germany. From a young man, educated among our
 “ enemies, debased by servitude, and infected with foreign man-
 “ ners, foreign laws, and foreign sentiments, what have we to
 “ expect? And if this Roman king, this Italicus, inherits the
 “ spirit of his father; let it be remembered, that Flavius took the
 “ field against his kindred and the gods of Germany. In the
 “ whole course of that war, no man shewed a spirit so deter-
 “ mined; no man acted with such envenomed hostility against
 “ the liberties of his country.”

XVII. By these, and such like incentives, the malecontents
 inflamed the minds of the people, and soon collected a numerous
 army. An equal number followed the standard of Italicus. “ Their
 “ motives,” they said, “ were just and honourable: the young king
 “ did not come to usurp the crown; he was invited by the voice
 “ of a willing people. His birth was illustrious, and it was but
 “ fair, to make an experiment of his virtues. He might, per-
 “ haps, prove worthy of Arminius, his uncle, and of Catumer,
 “ his grandfather. Even for his father (*a*), the son had no rea-
 “ son to blush. If Flavius adhered with fidelity to the cause of
 “ Rome, he had bound himself by the obligation of an oath; and
 “ that oath was taken with the consent of the German nations.
 “ The sacred name of liberty was used in vain to varnish the guilt
 “ of pretended patriots; a set of men, in their private characters,
 “ void of honour; in their public conduct, destructive to the
 “ community; an unprincipled and profligate party, who, by
 “ fair and honest means having nothing to hope, looked for their
 “ private advantage in the disasters of their country.” To this
 reasoning

reasoning the multitude assented with shouts of applause. The Barbarians came to action. After an obstinate engagement, victory declared for Italicus. Elate with success, he broke out into acts of cruelty, and was soon obliged to fly the country. The Langobards (*b*) reinstated him in his dominions. From that time, Italicus continued to struggle with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, in success no less than adversity, the scourge of the Cheruscan nation.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.
[800.
A. D.
47.

XVIII. THE Chaucians (*a*), at this time free from domestic broils, began to turn their arms against their neighbours. The death of Sanquinius, who commanded the legions in the lower Germany, furnished them with an opportunity to invade the Roman provinces; and as Corbulo, who was appointed to succeed the deceased general, was still on his way, they resolved to strike their blow before his arrival. Gannascus, born among the Caninefates, headed the enterprise; a bold adventurer, who had formerly served among the auxiliaries in the Roman army. Having deserted afterwards, he provided himself with light-built shallops, and followed the life of a roving freebooter, infesting chiefly the Gallic side of the Rhine (*b*), where he knew the wealth and the unwarlike genius of the people. Corbulo entered the province. In his first campaign he laid the foundation of that prodigious fame, which afterwards raised his character to the highest eminence. He ordered the strongest galleys to fall down the Rhine, and the small craft, according to their size and fitness for the service, to enter the æstuaries and the recesses of the river. The boats and vessels of the enemy were sunk or otherwise destroyed. Gannascus was obliged to save himself by flight.

By these operations Corbulo restored tranquillity throughout the province. The re-establishment of military discipline was the
next

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

next object of his attention. He found the legions relaxed in sloth, attentive to plunder, and active for no other end. In order to make a thorough reform, he gave out in orders, that no man should presume to quit his post, or venture to attack the enemy, on any pretence, without the command of his superior officer. The soldiers at the advanced stations, the sentinels, and the whole army, performed every duty, both day and night, completely armed. Two of the men, it is said, were put to death, as an example to the rest; one, because he laboured at the trenches without his sword; and the other, for being armed with a dagger only; a severity, it must be acknowledged, strained too far, or, perhaps, not true in fact: but the rigid system, peculiar to Corbulo, might, with some colour of probability, give rise to the report. It may, however, be fairly inferred, that the commander, concerning whom a story like this could gain credit, was, in matters of moment, firm, decided, and inflexible.

XIX. By this plan of discipline, Corbulo struck a general terror through the army: but that terror had a twofold effect; it roused the Romans to a due sense of their duty, and repressed the ferocity of the Barbarians. The Frisians (*a*), who, ever since their success against Lucius Apronius, remained in open or disguised hostility, thought it advisable, after giving hostages for their pacific temper, to accept a territory within the limits prescribed by Corbulo, and to submit to a mode of government, which he judged proper, consisting of an assembly in the nature of a senate, a body of magistrates, and a new code of laws. In order to bridle this people effectually, he built a fort in the heart of their country, and left it strongly garrisoned. In the mean time, he tried, by his emissaries, to draw over to his interest the leading chiefs of the Chaucian nation. Against Gannascus he did not scruple to act by stratagem. In the case of a deserter, who

had

had violated all good faith, fraud and circumvention did not appear to him inconsistent with the dignity of the Roman name. Gannascus was cut off. His death inflamed the resentment of the Chaucians; nor was Corbulo unwilling to provoke a war. His conduct, however, though applauded at Rome by a great number, did not escape the censure of others. “Why enrage
“the enemy? If he failed in his attempt, the commonwealth
“must feel the calamity: if crowned with success, a general of
“high renown, under a torpid and unwarlike prince, might
“prove a powerful and a dangerous citizen.” Claudius had no ambition to extend his dominions in Germany. He ordered the garrisons to be withdrawn, and the whole army to repass the Rhine.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

800.

A. D.

47.

XX. CORBULO had already marked out his camp in the enemy's country, when the emperor's letters came to hand. The contents were unexpected. A crowd of reflections occurred to the general: he dreaded the displeasure of the prince; he saw the legions exposed to the derision of the Barbarians, and in the opinion of the allies his own character degraded. He exclaimed with some emotion, “*Happy the commanders, who fought for the*
“*old republic!*” Without a word more, he sounded a retreat. And now, to hinder his men from falling again into sluggish inactivity, he ordered a canal, three-and-twenty miles in length, to be carried on between the Meuse and the Rhine, as a channel to receive the influx of the sea, and hinder the country from being laid under water. Claudius, in the mean time, allowed him the honour of triumphal ornaments: he granted the reward of military service, but prevented the merit of deserving it.

In a short time afterwards, Curtius Rufus obtained the same distinction: the service of this man was the discovery of a mine
in

B O O K
 XI.
 A. U. C.
 800.
 A. D.
 47.

in the country of the Mattiaci (*a*), in which was opened a vein of silver, of little profit, and soon exhausted. The labour was severely felt by the legions; they were obliged to dig a number of sluices, and in subterraneous cavities to endure fatigues and hardships, scarce supportable in the open air. Weary of the labour, and finding that the same rigorous services were extended to other provinces, they contrived, with secrecy, to dispatch letters to the emperor, praying, that, when next he appointed a general, he would begin with granting him triumphal honours.

XXI. CURTIUS RUFUS (*a*), according to some, was the son of a gladiator. For this I do not pretend to vouch. To speak of him with malignity is far from my intention, and to relate the truth is painful. He began the world in the train of a quæstor, whom he attended into Africa. In that station, while, to avoid the intense heat of the mid-day sun, he was sitting under a portico in the city of Adrumetum (*b*), the form of a woman, large beyond the proportions of the human shape (*c*), appeared before him. A voice, at the same time, pronounced, “You, Rufus, are the favoured man, destined to come hereafter into this province with proconsular authority.” Inspired by the vision, he set out for Rome, where, by the interest of his friends, and his own intriguing genius, he first obtained the quæstorship. In a short time after, he aspired to the dignity of prætor; and, though opposed by competitors of distinguished rank, he succeeded by the suffrage of Tiberius. That emperor, to throw a veil over the mean extraction of his favourite candidate, shrewdly said, “*Curtius Rufus seems to be a man sprung from himself.*” He lived to an advanced old age, growing grey in the base arts of servile adulation, to his superiors a fawning sycophant, to all beneath him proud and arrogant, and with his equals, surly, rude, and impracticable. At a late period of his life, he obtained the
 consular

consular and triumphal ornaments, and finally, to verify the prediction, went proconsul into Africa, where he finished his days.

B O O K
XI.
A. U. C.
800.
A. D.
47.

XXII. ABOUT this time Cneius Novius, a man of equestrian rank, was seized in the circle at the emperor's court, with a dagger concealed under his robe: his motives were unknown at the time, and never since discovered. When he lay stretched on the rack, he avowed his own desperate purpose, but, touching his accomplices, not a syllable could be extorted from him. Whether his silence was wilful obstinacy, or proceeded from his having no secret to discover, remains uncertain. During the same consulship, Publius Dolabella proposed a new regulation, requiring that a public spectacle of gladiators should be exhibited annually, at the expence of such as obtained the office of quæstor. In the early ages of the commonwealth, that magistracy was considered as the reward of virtue. The honours of the state lay open to every citizen who relied on his fair endeavours, and the integrity of his character. The difference of age (*a*) created no incapacity. Men, in the prime of life, might be chosen consuls and dictators. The office of quæstor was instituted during the monarchy, as appears from the law CURIATA (*b*), which was afterwards put in force by Lucius Junius Brutus. The right of election was vested in the consuls, till, at last, it centred in the people at large; and, accordingly, we find that about sixty-three years after the expulsion of the Tarquins, Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamercus were the first popular quæstors, created to attend the armies of the republic. The multiplicity of affairs increasing at Rome, two were added to act in a civil capacity. In process of time, when all Italy was reduced to subjection, and foreign provinces augmented the public revenue, the number of quæstors was doubled.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.
800.
A. D.
47.

Sylla created twenty: he had transferred all judicial authority to the senate; and to fill that order with its proper complement was the object of his policy. The Roman knights, it is true, recovered their ancient jurisdiction; but even during those convulsions, and from that æra to the time we are speaking of, the quæstorship was either obtained by the merit and dignity of the candidates, or granted by the favour and free will of the people. It was reserved for Dolabella to make the election venal.

A. U. C.
801.
A. D.
48.

XXIII. AULUS VITELLIUS and Lucius Vipfanius were the next consuls. The mode of filling the vacancies in the senate became the subject of debate. The nobility of that part of Gaul styled GALLIA COMATA (*a*) had for some time enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizens: on this occasion they claimed a right to the magistracy and all civil honours. The demand became the topic of public discussion, and in the prince's cabinet met with a strong opposition. It was there contended, "That
" Italy was not so barren of men, but she could well supply the
" capital with fit and able senators. In former times, the mu-
" nicipal towns and provinces were content to be governed by
" their own native citizens. That system was long established,
" and there was no reason to condemn the practice of the old
" republic. The history of that period presents a school of
" virtue. It is there that the models of true glory are to be
" found; those models that formed the Roman genius, and still
" excite the emulation of posterity. Is it not enough that the
" Venetians and Insubrians (*b*) have forced their way into the
" senate? Are we to see a deluge of foreigners poured in upon
" us, as if the city were taken by storm? What honours and
" what titles of distinction will, in that case, remain for the an-
" cient nobility, the true genuine stock of the Roman empire?
" And for the indigent senator of Latium what means will then
" be

“ be left to advance his fortune, and support his rank ? All posts
 “ of honour will be the property of wealthy intruders ; a race
 “ of men, whose ancestors waged war against the very being of
 “ the republic ; with fire and sword destroyed her armies ; and
 “ finally laid siege to Julius Cæsar in the city of Alefia (c).
 “ But these are modern instances : what shall be said of the
 “ Barbarians, who laid the walls of Rome in ashes, and dared to
 “ besiege the capitol and the temple of Jupiter ? Let the present
 “ claimants, if it must be so, enjoy the titular dignity of Roman
 “ citizens : but let the senatorian rank, and the honours of the
 “ magistracy, be preserved, unmixed, untainted, and inviolate.”

B O O K
 XI.

A. U. C.
 801.
 A. D.
 48.

XXIV. THESE arguments made no impression on the mind
 of Claudius : he replied on the spot, and afterwards in the senate
 delivered himself to this effect (a) : “ To decide the question
 “ now depending, the annals of Rome afford a precedent ;
 “ and a precedent of greater cogency, as it happened to the
 “ ancestors of my own family. Attus Clausus, by birth a Sabine,
 “ from whom I derive my pedigree, was admitted, on one and
 “ the same day, to the freedom of Rome, and the patrician rank.
 “ Can I do better than adopt that rule of ancient wisdom ? It is
 “ for the interest of the commonwealth, that merit, wherever
 “ found, should be transplanted to Rome, and made our own.
 “ Need I observe that to Alba we are indebted for the Julii, to
 “ Camerium for the Corruccani, and to Tusculum for the
 “ Portii ? Without searching the records of antiquity, we know
 “ that the nobles of Etruria, of Lucania, and, in short, of all
 “ Italy, have been incorporated with the Roman senate. The
 “ Alps, in the course of time, were made the boundaries of the
 “ city : and by that extension of our privileges, not simple indi-
 “ viduals, but whole nations were naturalized at once, and
 “ blended with the Roman name. In a period of profound

B O O K
 XI.
 A. U. C.
 501.
 A. D.
 48.

“ peace, the people beyond the Po were admitted to their free-
 “ dom. Under colour of planting colonies, we spread our le-
 “ gions over the face of the globe ; and, by drawing into our
 “ civil union the flower of the several provinces, we recruited
 “ the strength of the mother country. The Balbi came from
 “ Spain, and others of equal eminence from the Narbon Gaul :
 “ of that accession to our numbers have we reason to repent ?
 “ The descendants of those illustrious families are still in being :
 “ and can Rome boast of better citizens ? Where do we see more
 “ generous ardour to promote her interest ?

“ The Spartans and the Athenians, without all question, ac-
 “ quired great renown in arms : to what shall we attribute their
 “ decline and total ruin ? To what, but the injudicious policy of
 “ considering the vanquished as aliens to their country ? The
 “ conduct of Romulus, the founder of Rome, was the very re-
 “ verse : with wisdom equal to his valour, he made those fellow
 “ citizens at night, who, in the morning, were his enemies in
 “ the field. Even foreign kings have reigned at Rome. To
 “ raise the descendants of freedmen to the honours of the state,
 “ is not, as some imagine, a modern innovation : it was the
 “ practice of the old republic. But the Senones waged war
 “ against us : and were the Volscians and the Æqui always our
 “ friends ? The Gauls, we are told, well nigh overturned the
 “ capitol : and did not the Tuscans oblige us to deliver hostages ?
 “ Did not the Samnites compel a Roman army to pass under
 “ the yoke(*b*) ? Review the wars that Rome had upon her hands,
 “ and that with the Gauls will be found the shortest. From
 “ that time, a lasting and an honourable peace prevailed. Let
 “ them now, intermixed with the Roman people, united by ties
 “ of affinity, by arts, and congenial manners, be one people
 “ with us. Let them bring their wealth to Rome, rather than
 “ hoard

“ hoard it up for their own separate use. The institutions of
 “ our ancestors, which we so much and so justly revere at pre-
 “ sent, were, at one time, a novelty in the constitution. The
 “ magistrates were, at first, patricians only; the plebeians
 “ opened their way to honours; and the Latins, in a short
 “ time, followed their example. In good time we embraced all
 “ Italy. The measure which I now defend by examples will,
 “ at a future day, be another precedent. It is now a new re-
 “ gulation: in time it will be history.”

B O O K
 XI.

A. U. C.
 801.
 A. D.
 48.

XXV. THIS speech was followed by a decree, in consequence of which the Æduans, by way of distinction, were, in the first instance, declared capable of a seat in the senate. Of all the Gauls, they alone were styled the brethren of the Roman people, and by their strict fidelity deserved the honour conferred upon them. About the same time, Claudius enrolled in the patrician order such of the ancient senators as stood recommended by their illustrious birth, and the merit of their ancestors. The line of those families, which were styled by Romulus the FIRST CLASS OF NOBILITY, and by Brutus THE SECOND, was almost extinct. Even those of more recent date, created in the time of Julius Cæsar by the CASSIAN LAW, and, under Augustus, by the SENIAN (*a*), were well nigh exhausted. This new distribution of honours was agreeable to the people, and this part of his censorial office Claudius performed with alacrity. A more difficult business still remained. Some of the senators had brought dishonour on their names; and to expel them, according to the severity of ancient usage, was a painful task. He chose a milder method. “ Let each man,” he said, “ review
 “ his own life and manners; and, if he sees reason, let him
 “ apply for leave to erase his name. Permission will of course
 “ be granted. The list which he intended to make would
 “ contain,

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

801.

A. D.

48.

“ contain, without distinction, those who retired of their own
 “ motion, and also such as deserved to be expelled. By that
 “ method, the disgrace of being degraded would be avoided, or,
 “ at least, alleviated.”

For these several acts, Vipfanius the consul moved that the emperor should be styled THE FATHER OF THE SENATE. The title, he said, of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY would be no more than common ; but peculiar merit required a new distinction. This stroke of flattery gave disgust to Claudius. He therefore over-ruled the motion. He then closed the lustre of five years, and made a survey of the people. The number of citizens amounted nearly to six millions (*b*). From this time the emperor no longer remained in stupid insensibility, blind to the conduct of his wife. He was soon reduced to the necessity of hearing and punishing the enormity of her guilt : but the act by which he vindicated his own honour, gave him an opportunity to sully it by an incestuous marriage.

XXVI. MESSALINA had hitherto found so ready a compliance with her vicious passions, that the cheap delight was grown insipid. To give a zest to pleasure, she had recourse to modes of gratification untried before. Silius, at the same time, intoxicated with success, or, perhaps, thinking that the magnitude of his danger was to be encountered with equal courage, made a proposal altogether new and daring. “ They were not,” he said, “ in a situation to wait, with patience, for the death of
 “ the prince. Prudence and cautious measures were for the innocent only. In cases of flagrant guilt, a bold effort of courage was the only remedy. If they undertook with spirit,
 “ their accomplices, apprised of their situation, would be ready
 “ to hazard all that was dear to them. As to himself, he was
 “ divorced

“divorced from his wife; he was a single man; he had no
 “children; he was willing to marry Messalina, and adopt Bri-
 “tannicus for his son. After the nuptial ceremony, the power
 “which Messalina then enjoyed would still continue in her
 “hands, unimpaired, and undiminished. To insure their mu-
 “tual safety, nothing remained but to circumvent a superan-
 “nuated emperor, when unprovoked, stupid; but when roused
 “from his lethargy, sudden, furious, and vindictive.” The
 proposition was not relished by Messalina. Motives of conjugal
 affection had no influence on her conduct; but she beheld her
 lover with a jealous eye. Raised to imperial dignity, he might
 despise an adulteress, and their guilty joys. Their mutual plea-
 sures, endeared at present by the magnitude of the crime and
 the danger, might, in the day of security, appear in their native
 colours, and pall the sated appetite. The marriage, notwith-
 standing, had charms that pleased her fancy. It was a further
 step in guilt and infamy; and infamy, when beyond all mea-
 sure great, is the last incentive of an abandoned mind. She
 closed with the offer made by Silius, but deferred the carrying
 of it into execution, till the emperor went to Ostia to assist at a
 sacrifice. During his absence, the nuptial ceremony was per-
 formed with pomp, and all the accustomed rites.

B O O K
 XI.

A. U. C.
 801.
 A. D.
 48.

XXVII. THE fact which I have stated, it must be ac-
 knowledged, carries with it an air of fable. That such a de-
 gree of self-delusion, in a populous city where every thing is
 known and discussed in public, should infatuate the mind of any
 person whatever, will hardly gain credit with posterity. Much
 less will it be believed, that a consul elect, and the wife of an
 emperor, on a day appointed, in the presence of witnesses duly
 summoned, should dare to meet the public eye, and sign a con-
 tract with express provisions for the issue of an unlawful mar-
 riage.

BOOK
XI.A. U. C.
801.
A. D.
48.

riage. It will be a circumstance still more incredible, that the empress should hear the marriage ceremony pronounced by the augur, and, in her turn, repeat the words; that she should join in a sacrifice to the gods; take her place at the nuptial banquet; exchange caresses and mutual endearments with the bridegroom, and retire with him to the consummation of connubial joys. The whole must appear romantic; but to amuse with fiction is not the design of this work. The facts here related are well attested by writers of that period, and by grave and elderly men, who lived at the time, and were informed of every circumstance.

XXVIII. THE prince's family was thrown into consternation. The favourites who stood high in power were alarmed for themselves. Full of apprehensions, and dreading a sudden change, they disclosed their minds, not in secret murmurs, but openly, and in terms of indignation. "While a stage-player (*a*) enjoyed the embraces of Messalina, the emperor's bed was dishonoured, but the state was not in danger. At present, what had they not to fear from a young man of the first nobility, endowed with talents and with vigour of mind, in his person graceful, and, at that very time, designed for the consulship? Silius was preparing to open a new scene. The solemn farce of a marriage has been performed, and the catastrophe, with which they intend to conclude the piece, may be easily foreseen." Their fears were still increased, when they considered the stupidity of Claudius, and the ascendant which the empress had obtained over him, to such a degree, that the best blood in Rome had been spilt to gratify her insatiate vengeance. On the other hand, the imbecility of Claudius gave them hopes of success. If they could once impress that torpid mind with an idea of Messalina's wickedness, she might be condemned unheard,

heard, and, by the sudden violence of the emperor, hurried away to execution. The only danger was, that she might gain an audience. Her defence might satisfy the emperor; and, even if she confessed her guilt, he might remain deaf to the truth, insensible of disgrace, weak, stupid, and uxorious.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

801.

A. D.

43.

XXIX. CALLISTUS (*a*), who, as already mentioned, was a principal actor in the catastrophe of Caligula, held a meeting with Narcissus, the chief adviser of the murder of Appius, and with Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius. Their first idea was, to address themselves at once to Messalina, and, without alluding to her other enormous practices, endeavour to break the connection between her and Silius. This plan was soon deserted. The danger of provoking the haughty spirit of Messalina operated on the fears of Pallas. Callistus knew his own interest too well: a politician formed by the maxims of the preceding reign, he was not then to learn that power at court is preserved by tame compliance, not by honest counsels. Narcissus was left to act from his own judgment. To ruin Messalina was his fixed resolution; but the blow, he knew, must be struck before she could see the hand that aimed it. He laid his train with the deepest secrecy. Claudius continued loitering away the time at Ostia. Callistus employed the interval to the best advantage. He engaged in his plot two famous courtesans; at that time high in favour with the emperor. He allured them by presents and liberal promises. He convinced them both, that by the ruin of Messalina they might rise to power and influence. He represented their interest in the strongest colours, and, by those incentives, induced them to prefer an accusation against the empress.

XXX. THE plot being settled, one of the concubines (by

B O O K
XI.A. U. C.
801.
A. D.
48.

name Calpurnia) obtained a private interview with Claudius. Throwing herself at the emperor's feet, she told him that Messalina had dishonoured him by a marriage with Silius. Cleopatra, the other actresses in the scene, was near at hand to confirm the story. Being asked by the accuser whether she did not know the truth of the charge, her testimony confirmed the whole. Narcissus was immediately summoned to the emperor's presence. He began with an humble apology for the remissness of his conduct. "He had been silent as to Vectius and Plautius, whose criminal intrigues were too well known. Even in that very moment it was not his intention to urge the crime of adultery; nor would he desire restitution of the palace, the household train, and the splendours of the imperial house. Let Silius enjoy them all; but let him restore the emperor's wife, and give up his marriage contract to be declared null and void. You are divorced, Cæsar, at this moment divorced, and are you ignorant of it? The people saw the marriage ceremony, the senate beheld it, and the soldiers know it. Act with vigour; take a decisive step, or the adulterer is master of Rome."

XXXI. CLAUDIUS called a council of his friends. Turranus, the superintendant of the public stores, and Lufius Geta, the commander of the prætorian bands, acknowledged the whole of her flagitious conduct. The rest of the courtiers crowded round the prince, with importunity urging him to go forth to the camp, and secure the prætorian guards. His own personal safety was the first consideration. Vindictive measures might follow in good time. The alarm was too much for the faculties of so weak a man as Claudius. He stood in stupid amazement. He asked several times, Am I emperor? Is Silius still a private man?

Messalina,

Messalina, in the mean time, passed the hours in gay festivity, all on the wing of pleasure and enjoyment. It was then the latter end of autumn: in honour of the season, an interlude, representing the vintage, was exhibited by her order at the palace. The wine-presses were set to work; the juice pressed from the grape flowed in copious streams, and round the vats a band of women, dressed after the Bacchanalian fashion, with the skins of tigers, danced in frolic measures, with the wild transport usual at the rites of Bacchus. In the midst of the revellers Messalina displayed the graces of her person, her hair flowing with artful negligence, and a thyrsus waving in her hand. Silius fluttered at her side; his temples crowned with wreaths of ivy, his legs adorned with buskins, and his head, with languishing airs, moving in unison with the music, while a chorus circled round the happy pair, with dance, and song, and lascivious gesture animating the scene. There is a current tradition, that Vectius Valens in a fit of ecstasy climbed up among the branches of a tree, and being asked what he saw, made answer, "I see a *dreadful storm* gathering at Ostia." Whether the sky was then overcast, or the expression fell by chance, it proved in the end a true prediction.

B O O K
XI.A. U. C.
801.
A. D.
48.

XXXII. MEANWHILE, it became publicly known at Rome, not by vague report, but by sure intelligence brought by special messengers, that Claudius, fully apprised of all that passed, was on his way, determined to do justice on the guilty. Messalina withdrew to the gardens of Lucullus. Silius, endeavouring under an air of gaiety to hide his fears, went towards the forum, as if he had business to transact. The rest of the party fled with precipitation. The centurions pursued them. Several were seized in the streets, or in their lurking-places, and loaded with fetters. In this reverse of fortune, Messalina had no time for

B O O K
XI.A. U. C.
857.
A. D.
48.

deliberation. She resolved to meet the emperor on his way, and, in a personal interview, to try that power over his affections which had so often served her on former occasions. In order to excite compassion, she ordered her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to fly to the embraces of their father. She prevailed on Vibidia, the eldest of the vestal virgins, to address the emperor as the sovereign pontiff, and wring from him, by the force of prayers, a pardon for his wife. She herself traversed the city on foot, with only three attendants. Such, in the moment of adversity, was the solitude in which she was left. She mounted into a tumbrel, usually employed to carry off the refuse of the city-gardens, and in that vehicle proceeded on her way to Ostia. From the spectators not a groan was heard; no sign of pity was seen. The enormity of her guilt suppressed every kind emotion of the heart.

XXXIII. CLAUDIUS, in the mean time, was thrown into violent agitations. Doubt and fear distracted him. He had no reliance on Geta, who commanded the prætorian guards; a man at all times fluctuating between good and evil, and ready for any mischief. Narcissus, seconded by his friends and associates, spoke his mind in terms plain and direct. He told the emperor that all was lost, if the command of the camp were not, for that day, vested in one of his freedmen. He offered himself for that important office; and lest Claudius on the road to Rome should be induced, by the influence of Lucius Vitellius and Publius Largus Cæcina, to alter his resolution, he desired to be conveyed in the same carriage with the prince. He mounted the vehicle, and took his place without further ceremony.

XXXIV. CLAUDIUS, as he proceeded towards the city, felt himself distracted by contending passions. He inveighed against his

his wife; he softened into tenderness, and felt for his children. During all that agitation of mind, Vitellius, we are told, contented himself with saying, "The vile iniquity! The infamous crime!" Narcissus pressed him to be more explicit; but his answers were in the oracular style, dark, ambiguous, and liable to be interpreted various ways. Cæcina followed his example. It was not long before Messalina appeared in sight. Her supplications were loud and vehement. "Hear your unhappy wife," she said; "hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus." To prevent any impression of tenderness, the accuser raised his voice: he talked of Silius, and the wickedness of the marriage; he produced a memorial, containing a full account of the whole proceeding, and, to draw the emperor's eyes from Messalina, gave him the papers to read. As they entered Rome, Octavia and Britannicus presented themselves before the prince; but, by order of Narcissus, they were both removed. Vibidia claimed to be heard: in a pathetic tone she remonstrated, that to condemn his wife unheard, would be unjust, and shocking to humanity. She received for answer, that Messalina would have her opportunity to make her defence; in the mean time, it became a vestal virgin to retire to the functions of her sacred office.

B O O K
XI.A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
48.

XXXV. THE silence of Claudius, during the whole of this scene, was beheld with astonishment. Vitellius looked aghast, affecting to understand nothing. All directions were given by the freedman. He ordered the adulterer's house to be thrown open, and proceeded thither with the emperor. He shewed him in the vestibule the statue of Silius the father, which the senate had ordered to be destroyed; he pointed to the splendid ornaments, formerly the property of the Neros and the Drusi, now in the possession of the adulterer; the reward of his profligacy.

B O O K
XI.A. U. C.
831.
A. D.
48.

fligacy. Claudius was fired with indignation. Before he had time to cool, and while, with violent menaces, he was denouncing vengeance, Narcissus took advantage of the moment, and conducted him to the camp. The soldiers were assembled in a body to receive him. Claudius, by the advice of his ministers, delivered a short harangue. On the subject of his disgrace it was impossible to expatiate; shame suppressed his voice. The camp resounded with rage and clamour. The soldiers called aloud for the names of the guilty, threatening immediate vengeance. Silius was brought before the tribunal. He attempted no defence; he asked for no delay; instant death was all he desired. Several Roman knights followed his example, with equal firmness wishing to end their misery. In the number were Titius Proculus, whom Silius had appointed to guard Messalina; Vectius Valens, who confessed his guilt, and offered to give evidence against others; Pompeius Urbicus, and Saufellus Trogus: by the emperor's order they were hurried to instant execution. The same fate attended Decius Calpurnianus, præfect of the night-watch; Sulpicius Rufus, director of the public games; and Juncus Virgilianus, a member of the senate.

XXXVI. MNESTER was the only person, in whose favour Claudius was held in suspense. This man, in agony, tore his garments, and "Behold," he said, "behold a body seamed with stripes. Remember your own words, Cæsar, the words, in which you gave me strict directions to obey the will and pleasure of Messalina. The rest acted for their reward; they had bright objects in view. If I have erred, I erred through necessity, not by inclination. Had Silius seized the reins of government, I should have been the first victim to his fury." Claudius hesitated: touched with compassion, he was on the point of granting the wretch his pardon; but after executing so many persons

persons of illustrious rank, his freedmen told him, that the life of a minstrel was of no value: whether the man offended from inclination, or compulsion, was not worth a moment's pause: his case deserved no favour. The defence made by Traulus Montanus, a Roman knight, availed him nothing. In the prime of youth, of ingenuous manners, and an elegant figure, he had the misfortune to be distinguished by Messalina. She invited him to her bed, and, after one night, dismissed him from her service. Such was the caprice that ruled all her passions: she loved with fury, and was soon disgusted. A pardon was granted to Suillius Cæsoninus and Plautius Lateranus: the last, in consideration of the great merit of his uncle (*a*), was saved from execution. Cæsoninus was protected by his vices. In that lewd society, with whom he had been lately connected, he had been obliged to suffer unnatural indignities; and that disgrace was deemed sufficient punishment.

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

801.

A. D.

48.

XXXVII. MESSALINA remained, during this whole time, in the gardens of Lucullus. She still entertained hopes of prolonging her days. She began to write to the emperor in a style of supplication; her passions shifted, and she spoke the language of reproach: even in ruin, her pride was not abated. If Narcissus had not hastened the execution, there is no doubt but the blow, aimed at her, would have recoiled upon himself. Claudius, as soon as he returned to his palace, placed himself at his convivial table. Being refreshed, and in a short time warm with wine, he gave orders that a messenger should be sent to tell the unhappy woman (those were his words), that on the next day she should be admitted to make her defence. Narcissus took the alarm: he saw the resentments of his master ebbing fast away, and his former fondness flowing in upon him. Delay was big with danger. The night, then coming on apace, might produce a change of sentiment; and his very bed-chamber, the scene of

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.

801.

A. D.

48.

all his happiness, might melt him into tenderness and conjugal affection. Filled with these apprehensions, the freedman rushed out of the banqueting-room, and, in the emperor's name, gave orders to the centurions, and the tribune on duty, to do immediate execution on Messalina. Evodus, one of the freedmen, was sent to superintend the execution. This man made the best of his way to the gardens. He found the empress stretched on the ground, and Lepida, her mother, sitting by her. While Messalina flourished in prosperity, the mother kept no terms with her daughter. In her present distress, she felt the regret and anguish of a parent. "Death," she told the unhappy criminal, "was her only refuge. To linger for the stroke of the executioner were unworthy and ignoble. Life with her was over: she was in the last act, and nothing remained but to close the scene with dignity and a becoming spirit." But in a mind, like that of Messalina, depraved by vicious passions, every virtue was extinguished. She sunk under her afflictions, overwhelmed with grief, dissolved in tears, and uttering vain complaints, when the garden-gate was thrown open. The tribune presented himself in fullen silence. Evodus, the freedman, discharged a torrent of opprobrious language, with all the malice of a servile spirit.

XXXVIII. MESSALINA was now, for the first time, sensible of her condition. She saw that all was lost; she received a poniard; she aimed it with a feeble effort at her throat; she pointed it to her breast, irresolute, and clinging still to life. The tribune dispatched her at one blow. Her body was left to be disposed of by her mother. The emperor, in the mean time, had not risen from table. He was told that Messalina was no more; but whether she died by her own hand, or that of the executioner, was not mentioned, nor did it occur to him to ask the question. He called for wine, and pampered himself, as usual

usual, with the luxuries of the table. On the following days he appeared unmoved, unaltered, without a symptom of anger, joy, or grief, or any one sensation of the human heart. Even amidst the exultations of Messalina's enemies, and the cries of her children, lamenting their unhappy mother, he remained sunk in stupid apathy. In order to blot her altogether from his memory, the senate decreed, that her name should be effaced in all places, whether public or private, and that her images should be every where taken down. The ensigns of the quæstorian dignity were voted to Narcissus; a slender recompense, when it is considered, that, though second in rank to Pallas and Callistus, he was the chief adviser in the whole proceeding against Messalina. The punishment inflicted, by his means, was undoubtedly just; but it proved the source of numberless crimes, and a long train of public calamity (*a*).

B O O K
XI.

A. U. C.
801.
A. D.
48.

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

T H E

A N N A L S

O F

T A C I T U S.

B O O K XII.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XII.

- I. *THE choice of a wife for the emperor divides the freedmen into parties. Lolliæ Paulina, Julia Agrippina, and Ælia Petina are rival candidates.*
- II. *Claudius deliberates with Narcissus, Callistus, and Pallas.*
- III. *Agrippina, the emperor's niece, preferred by the interest of Pallas. Vitellius, the censor, moves the senate that all intermarriages between the uncle and niece shall be declared lawful. A decree passes for that purpose.*
- VII. *On the day of the marriage Silanus kills himself. Calvina, his sister, is banished out of Italy. Seneca recalled from exile, by the influence of Agrippina; her reasons for it.*
- IX. *Octavia, the emperor's daughter, promised in marriage to Nero, Agrippina's son.*
- X. *Deputies from Parthia, desiring that Meherdates may be sent from Rome to be king of that country. Meherdates sets out accordingly. He gives battle to Gotarzes, and is conquered. Death of Gotarzes. Vonones succeeds to the crown of Parthia, and soon after him Vologeses.*
- XV. *Mithridates tries to recover the kingdom of Pontus. He is defeated, and sent to Rome. His unshaken fortitude, and behaviour to the emperor.*
- XXII. *Lolliæ Paulina condemned to banishment by the intrigues of Agrippina. Her death in exile. Calpurnia punished, but not with death.*
- XXIII. *The city enlarged by Claudius. The ancient boundaries, with an account of enlargements from time to time.*
- XXV. *Nero adopted by Claudius. Agrippina, to increase her fame, establishes a colony among the Ubians, at the place of*
her

her birth. The Cattiars ravage and plunder the country: they are subdued. XXIX. Vannius, king of the Suevians, driven from his kingdom. Lands allotted to him and his followers in Pannonia. XXXI. Publius Ostorius commands in Britain. His victory over Caractacus. Cartismandua delivers Caractacus into the hands of the Romans. He is sent to Rome. His fortitude, and his speech to Claudius. Pardon granted to him, his wife, and his brothers. XXXIX. Ostorius dies, worn out in the service. Aulus Didius sent into Britain to take upon him the command. XL. Nero puts on the manly gown before the regular age. Britannicus slighted, and by the arts of Agrippina postponed to Nero. The attendants and tutors of Britannicus removed from his person, and new men appointed by Agrippina. XLIII. Portents and prodigies at Rome. The people distressed by a dearth of corn. The impolicy of depending for corn on Ægypt and Africa. XLIV. War between the Iberians and Armenians. The Parthians and Romans involved in the quarrel. Rhadamistus sent by his father Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, to his uncle Mithridates, who reigns over the kingdom of Armenia. The treachery of Rhadamistus. By his father's orders he wages war against Armenia. Mithridates besieged in a fortress under the command of Cælius Pollio, the governor of the garrison. The venality of Pollio. Mithridates betrayed by him, and murdered by Rhadamistus. LII. Furius Scribonianus driven into exile. The mathematicians banished out of Italy. LIII. A decree against women intermarrying with slaves. Pallas rewarded as the author of this regulation. LIV. Tranquillity restored in Judæa. Felix, the brother of Pallas, escapes unpunished, notwithstanding his misconduct, and Cumanus punished for the whole. LV. Commotions among the Glitæans quelled by Antiochus. LVI. Claudius exhibits a naval engagement on the lake Fucinus. A pass made through a mountain.

CONTENTS - OF BOOK XII.

tain. The work ill executed at first, and completed afterwards. Narcissus blamed by Agrippina. LVIII. Nero pleads for the inhabitants of Ilium, and other cities. LIX. Statilius Taurus accused by Tarquitiuſ Priscus: the latter expelled the ſenate in ſpite of Agrippina. LX. The juřiſdiction of the imperial procurators eſtabliſhed in the provinces. Obſervations on that ſubject. LXI. An exemption from taxes granted to the iſle of Coos, and to the city of Byzantium a remiſſion of tribute for five years. LXIV. Portents and prodigies. Domitia Lepida, the aunt of Nero, for endeavouring to ingratiate herſelf with her nephew, accused by the artifice of Agrippina. Narciffus endeavours to ſave her, but in vain: ſhe is condemned to die. LXVI. Claudius taken ill: he removes to Sinueſſa. Agrippina prepares a plate of poiſoned muſhrooms. Xenophon, the phyſician, puts a poiſoned feather down the emperor's throat, under pretence of making him vomit. LXVIII. Britannicus detained in the palace by Agrippina, while Nero is proclaimed emperor by the army. The ſenate approve, and decree divine honours to the memory of Claudius.

Theſe tranſactions paſſed in ſix years.

Years of Rome—of Chriſt	Conſuls
802	49 Pomponius Longinus Gallus, Quintus Veranius.
803	50 Caius Antiftius Vetus, M. Suillius Nervillianus.
804	51 Claudius, 5th time, S. Cornelius Orphitus.
805	52 { P. Cornelius Sylla Fauſtus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus.
806	53 Decimus Junius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus.
807	54 { Marcus Aſinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola.

THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

BOOK XII.

I. **T**HE death of Messalina threw the imperial family into a state of distraction. The freedmen were divided into contending factions. The emperor disliked a life of celibacy, and the uxorious disposition of his nature made him liable to be governed by the partner of his bed. Which of the favourites should make the fortune of a future empress was the point in dispute. Nor was female ambition less excited. Several candidates aspired to the vacant throne, all depending on pretensions, that gave to each a decided title; such as nobility of birth, superior beauty, immoderate riches, and, in short, every claim to that great elevation. The contest, however, lay between Lollia Paulina, the daughter of Marcus Lollius the consul, and Agrippina,

BOOK
XII.

A. U. C.

801.

A. D.

48.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

851.

A. D.

48.

pina, the immediate issue of Germanicus. Pallas espoused the interest of Agrippina, and Lolliā was supported by Callistus. There was still a third rival, namely Ælia Petina, descended from the family of the Tuberos. Narcissus declared in her favour. By the jarring counsels of the three favourites, Claudius was distracted in his choice; by turns inclined to each, persuaded always by the last, yet determined by none. At length, to weigh their different propositions, and the reasonings in support of them, he called his confidential ministers to an audience.

II. NARCISSUS urged in favour of Ælia Petina (*a*), that she was formerly the wife of Claudius, and by him was the mother of Antonia. By joining her again in the bands of wedlock, no alteration would be made in the imperial family. A person, with whom the prince had already experienced the tenderest union, would be reinstated; and, since Octavia and Britannicus were so nearly allied to her daughter, she would embrace them both with sincere affection, free from the little jealousies of a step-mother. Callistus, on the contrary, was of opinion, that a woman, disgraced by a long divorce, and suddenly restored to favour, would bring with her the pride and arrogance of an actual conquest: but to Lolliā no objection could be made: she had never been a mother, and, by consequence, her affections, not already engaged, would be reserved for the issue of the prince. Her whole stock of tenderness would be engrossed by Octavia and Britannicus. Pallas contended for Agrippina: by a match with her, the grandson of Germanicus would be transplanted into the imperial family, and that union would be an accession of strength to the Claudian line. Agrippina was still in the prime of life, of a constitution that promised a numerous issue; and to suffer a woman of her rank and dignity to carry the splendour of the Cæſarean line into another family, would be a measure highly impolitic.

III. THIS

III. THIS reasoning weighed with Claudius, and the beauty of Agrippina added force to the argument. She had, besides, the art of displaying her charms to the best advantage. The ties of consanguinity gave her free access to her uncle. She made use of her opportunities, and, in a short time, secured her conquest. Without waiting for the marriage rites, she was able to anticipate the splendour and authority of imperial grandeur. Sure of her triumph over her rival, she enlarged her views, and by a projected match between Domitius (*a*), her son by Cneius Ænobarbus, and Octavia, the emperor's daughter, began to plan the elevation of her family. The scene before her flattered her ambition, but without a stroke of iniquity could not be realized. The fact was, Octavia, with the consent of Claudius, was contracted to Lucius Silanus, a youth of noble descent, by triumphal honours rendered still more illustrious, and by a spectacle of gladiators, given in his name, endeared to the people. But to a woman of high ambition and a politic character it was not difficult to mould to her purposes a man like Claudius, void of sentiment, without a passion, and without a motive, except what was infused by the suggestion of others.

IV. VITELLIUS saw the tide running with a rapid current in favour of Agrippina. He resolved to ingratiate himself without delay. His office of censor gave him the power of executing the vilest purposes, and, at the same time, served as a veil to hide his iniquity. He made advances to Agrippina, and entered into all her measures. His first step was to frame an accusation against Silanus, whose sister, Junia Calvina, in her person elegant, but of a loose and lascivious character, had been, not long before, the daughter-in-law of Vitellius. He accused them both of an incestuous commerce. The charge, in truth, was without foundation; but the folly of a brother and sister, who were so unguarded

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
801.
A. D.
48.

as to give to natural affection an air of criminality, afforded colour for the imputation. Claudius listened to the story. Inclined to protect his daughter, he was easily incensed against an intended husband, who had shewn himself capable of so foul a crime. Silanus was, at that time, prætor for the year. He little suspected the treacherous arts, by which his character and his fortune were undermined. By an unexpected edict, issued by Vitellius, he was expelled the senate, though that assembly had been lately reviewed and registered by the censor. Claudius declared the marriage contract void; he renounced all ties of affinity with Silanus, and obliged him to abdicate the prætorship, though but a single day remained to complete the year. For that short interval, Eprius Marcellus was appointed to fill the vacant office.

A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
49.

V. IN the consulship of Caius Pomponius Longinus and Quintus Veranius, the fond endearments, that passed between the emperor and his niece, left no room to doubt but their criminal loves, most probably indulged already, would soon be followed by the nuptial ceremony. But the marriage of an uncle with his brother's daughter, was, at that time, without a precedent. If they avowed an incestuous marriage, the popular hatred might be inflamed against them, and some public calamity might befall the city of Rome. Claudius was held in suspense. Vitellius undertook to remove every scruple. He desired to know whether the emperor would make the sense of the people, and the authority of the senate, the rule of his conduct. Claudius replied, that he was one of the people, an individual too weak to resist the public voice. Vitellius desired that he would remain in his palace, and went directly to the senate. He began with assuring the fathers that he came on business of the first importance, and, having obtained leave to speak out of his turn he proceeded as follows:

follows: "The office of supreme magistrate is at best a state of painful solicitude. The cares of a prince, who superintends the government of the world, requires domestic comfort to sweeten anxiety, and leave him at leisure to think for the good of the whole. And where can he find a comfort so fit, so honourable, so consistent with his dignity, as in the arms of a wife, his partner in prosperity, and in affliction the balm of all his cares? With a faithful associate, he may unload his inmost thoughts; to her he may commit the management of his children; and, in that tender union, unseduced by pleasure, unbauched by riot and luxury, he may continue to shew that reverence for the laws, which distinguished the character of Claudius from his earliest youth."

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

802.

A. D.

49.

VI. AFTER this artful introduction, finding that he was heard by the fathers with manifest symptoms of a complying spirit, he resumed his discourse. "Since it seems to be the prevailing opinion, that, to alleviate the cares of the emperor, an imperial comfort is absolutely necessary, nothing remains but to recommend the choice of a person, distinguished by her illustrious birth, a fruitful womb, and the purity of her morals. This point may be soon decided. Agrippina must, of course, present herself to every mind. Descended from a noble stock, she is the mother of children, and possesses, besides, all the virtues and all the graces of her sex. Nor is this all: by the special care of the gods, a prince, who has known no lawless pleasures, who has sought the modest enjoyments of connubial love, has now an opportunity of taking a widow to his arms, without injury to any private citizen, and without violating the rights of the marriage bed. By former emperors wives have been taken from the embraces of their husbands: we have heard it from our fathers; we have been eye-witnesses of the fact. But

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
49.

“ these acts of violence are now at an end. A precedent may be
“ established, to regulate the conduct of all future emperors.
“ But it may be said, a marriage between the uncle and his niece
“ is unknown to Roman manners. To this the answer is ob-
“ vious : it is the practice of foreign nations, and no law forbids
“ it. By the rule of ancient times, cousin-germans were restrained
“ from marrying ; but the change of manners has introduced a
“ different custom. Such marriages are now grown familiar.
“ Public convenience is the parent of all civil institutions : the
“ marriage, which to-day seems an innovation, in future times
“ will be the general practice.”

VII. THIS speech was received with the general assent. Many of the fathers rushed out of the house, declaring aloud, that if the emperor hesitated, they knew how to enforce compliance. The populace at the door echoed back the voice of the senate, and, with violent uproar, called it the wish of the people. Claudius delayed no longer : he shewed himself in the forum, amidst shouts and acclamations. He proceeded to the senate, and there desired that a decree might pass, declaring marriages between the uncle and his niece legal for the future. The law was enacted, but little relished. Titus Alledius Severus, a Roman knight, was the only person willing to embrace such an alliance. He married his niece, but, as was generally believed, with a design to pay his court to Agrippina. From this time a new scene of affairs was opened. The government of a woman prevailed ; but it was no longer a woman of loose and dissolute manners like Messalina, who meant to mock the people with a reign of lewdness and debauchery. Agrippina established a despotic system, and maintained it with the vigour of a manly spirit : in her public conduct rigorous, and often arrogant, she suffered no irregularity in her domestic management. Vice, when

when subservient to her schemes of ambition, might be the means, but never was her ruling passion. Her avarice knew no bounds : but the support of government was her pretext.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
49.

VIII. ON the day of the nuptial ceremony Silanus put an end to his life. Till that time he had nourished delusive hopes ; or, it might be his intention to mark the day by a deed of horror. His sister Calvina was banished out of Italy. Claudius, to atone for her offence, revived the ancient law of Tullus, the Roman king, and ordered a sacrifice and expiations by the pontiffs to be made in the grove of Diana. This provoked the public ridicule. It was observed that the time for inflicting penalties, and performing solemn rites, was chosen with notable judgment, when adultery was by law established. Agrippina was not willing to be distinguished by evil deeds alone : in order to grace her character, she interceded for Annæus Seneca, who had been driven into banishment ; and not only restored him to his country, but obtained for him the prætorian rank. The learning and brilliant genius of that philosopher, she had no doubt, would render the measure acceptable to the people ; and, from the education of her son Domitius under such a master, she promised herself great advantages. She had still a deeper scheme in view : by the wisdom and advice of Seneca, she hoped to make the road to empire smooth and level for her son. Motives of gratitude would have their influence on the mind of that eminent man, and fix him in her interest, a faithful counsellor, and her friend by sentiment ; while a sense of former injuries would make him the secret enemy of Claudius.

IX. HAVING conceived this plan of ambition, she thought her measures could not be too soon concerted. She contrived, by large and generous promises, to gain over to her purposes

Memmius

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

802.

A. D.

49.

Memmius Pollio, at that time consul elect. He moved in the senate an address to the emperor, requesting his consent to a contract of marriage between Domitius and Octavia. The match was suited to the age of the parties. Agrippina intended it as a prelude to greater scenes, not yet disclosed. The speech of Pollio to the fathers was little more than a repetition of what had been urged by Vitellius. The motion succeeded. Octavia was promised to Domitius, and, by this additional tie, the young prince was raised to higher splendour. He was now considered as the son-in-law of the emperor. Supported by the intrigues of his mother, and not less by the enemies of Messalina, who dreaded the vengeance of her son, he began to vie with Britannicus, and even to dispute with him the point of precedence.

X. THE deputies from Parthia sent, as has been related, to demand Meherdates for their king, were admitted to an audience before the senate. They opened their commission in the following manner: "The alliance between Rome and Parthia, "and the subsisting treaties, are fully known to us; nor is it a "spirit of disaffection to the family of the Arsacides that brings "us to this assembly. We seek the son of Vonones, the grand- "son of Phraates. In the present crisis, he is our only refuge, "our shield and best protection from the tyranny of Gotarzes, "who is justly execrated by the whole Parthian nation. His "reign is marked with blood. His brothers were the first "victims to his fury. His kindred have been since cut off. "No place is safe from devastation: neither age nor sex is "spared; parents and their children perish in one general mas- "sacre, and infants yet unborn are butchered in the mother's "womb. Such are the exploits of Gotarzes; in peace a tyrant, "and in war disastrous to his country. Cruelty, he hopes, "will seem in the eyes of men a warlike spirit. The treaties "subsisting

“ subsisting between Rome and Parthia are of ancient date :
 “ they have been the basis of a lasting friendship ; and to prove
 “ that friendship sincere, the fathers have now a fair oppor-
 “ tunity. It is theirs to vindicate the rights of a nation, which,
 “ though not inferior in point of strength and numbers, yields
 “ to Rome from motives of respect. For this reason the sons
 “ of Parthian kings have been delivered up as hostages. The
 “ principle of that acquiescence is, that if domestic tyranny
 “ should prove a galling yoke, the people may have recourse to
 “ the emperor and the senate. They now claim, at your hands,
 “ a king trained up in Roman manners, and, by consequence,
 “ likely to bring with him to his native country the best notions
 “ of civil government.”

B O O K
 XII.

A. U. C.
 802.
 A. D.
 49.

XI. CLAUDIUS answered the ambassadors in a style of mag-
 nificence. He set forth the grandeur of the Roman name,
 and the deference due from the Parthian nation. He placed
 himself on a level with Augustus, who, in like manner, had re-
 ceived the applications of a whole people ; but he made no men-
 tion of Tiberius (*a*), though that emperor had dealt out sceptres,
 and placed foreign kings on the throne of Parthia. After this
 brilliant harangue, he turned to Meherdates, then present in the
 senate, and in a serious strain admonished him to remember
 that he was going forth, not the lord of slaves, but the governor
 of men ; not the tyrant, but the chief magistrate of his fellow-
 citizens. He advised him to practise the virtues of justice and
 moderation ; virtues, he said, unknown to savage life, but for
 that reason more likely to charm by their novelty. From the
 prince he turned to the Parthian ambassadors, and, in handsome
 terms, commended to their care the pupil of Rome ; a young
 prince of ingenuous manners, and no stranger to the liberal arts.
 He added, that the Parthians would do well to temporise with
 the

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
502.
A. D.
49.

the genius of their kings, and to overlook the failings of human nature. Frequent revolutions could give no solid advantage. Rome was at the highest point of grandeur. Enough of glory had been gained by the progress of her arms; she therefore put a period to her victories, and the tranquillity of foreign nations was now the object of her care. Meherdates was committed to the Parthian deputies; and Caius Cassius, the governor of Syria, had it in command to conduct him to the banks of the Euphrates.

XII. CASSIUS, at that period, was the most eminent man of the age for his profound knowledge of the laws. In times of peace, the military science falls into neglect. Between the warlike genius and the inactive sluggard no distinction remains. And yet the ardent mind of Cassius could not languish in a state of stupid indolence. Though there was no war upon his hands to rouse the spirit of the legions, he resolved, by every method in his power, to maintain the rigour of ancient discipline. He kept the soldiers in constant exercise; he established new regulations, and practised every duty with as much zeal as if the enemy were actually in arms against him. This severity, he thought, became a man who had before his eyes the bright example of his ancestors, and, above all, the fame of the celebrated Cassius, which was diffused through all the eastern nations. Having pitched his camp near Zeugma, a city where the passage over the Euphrates is most practicable, he waited for a convention of the Parthian chiefs, who had made their application to Rome. As soon as they arrived, and with them Abgarus, king of the Arabs (*a*), he delivered Meherdates into their hands, having previously reminded the prince, that among Barbarians the first impulse of their zeal is violent, but apt to relax, and end in treachery. His interest, therefore, called for
vigorous

vigorous measures. By the artifice of Abgarus that advice was rendered abortive. The prince, as yet without experience, suspecting no deceit, and weak enough to think that royalty consists in luxury and riot, was seduced to the city of Edeffa, and there detained several days, the dupe of the wily Arabian. Carrhenes, in the mean time, pressed Meherdates to advance with expedition. By his messengers he promised certain success, if no time was lost in frivolous delay. All was ineffectual. Though Mesopotamia was at hand, they never entered that country, but, taking a wider circuit, marched towards Armenia, where the rigour of the winter was already begun.

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
49.

XIII. AFTER a toilsome march over craggy mountains covered with a waste of snow, they descended at last into the open country. Carrhenes joined them at the head of his forces. Thus reinforced, the army passed over the Tigris, and penetrated into the country of the Adiabeniens (*a*). Izates, king of that people, in outward shew favoured Meherdates, but in his heart inclined to Gotarzes. In the course of their march, they made themselves masters of the city of Ninos (*b*), formerly the seat of the Assyrian monarchy. They also took the castle of ARBELA, memorable in story for the last battle between Darius and Alexander, by which the fate of the Persian monarchy was decided. Gotarzes, in the mean time, took post on the heights of mount SAMBULOS (*c*). He there offered up a sacrifice to the deities of the place, and chiefly to Hercules, the leading god. At stated periods, according to an ancient legend, Hercules inspired the dreams of the priests, and, in a vision, gave his orders, "That a set of horses, ready for the chase, should be stationed near the temple. The hunters, accordingly, are drawn out, well equipped with quivers and a store of arrows." Thus caparisoned, they stretch at full speed through the woods, and, at

BOOK
XII.

A. U. C.

802.

A. D.

49.

the close of day, return to the temple without an arrow left, weary, and panting for breath. The god appears again, in a midnight vision, to tell the priests the tracts of the forest where he pursued his game. After this information, diligent search is made, and a large quantity of game, killed in the chase, is found in the woods.

XIV. GOTARZES had not as yet assembled all his forces, and the issue of a battle was what he wished to avoid. The river Corma served to cover him from the assaults of the enemy. He there stood at bay, devising various delays, encamping, and shifting his ground; and though provoked by various insults, and even by messengers challenged to the conflict, he contrived, notwithstanding, to protract the war, while his agents were busy in the adverse camp, by gifts and promises seducing the friends of Meherdates. Izates, king of the Adiabeniens, was the first to withdraw with all his forces. Abgarus, the Arabian, followed his example, both displaying the fickle disposition and the venality of Barbarians. To sue for kings at the hands of Rome was their frequent custom; but experience shews that they petitioned only to betray. Weakened by desertion, and suspecting further treachery, Meherdates resolved to try the issue of a battle. Nor was Gotarzes disposed to decline the conflict. A fierce engagement followed, with great slaughter on both sides. The victory was long held in suspense, till Carrhenes, having broke the enemy's lines, pursued his advantage with too much ardour. He was attacked in the rear by a body of reserve, and hemmed in on every side. Meherdates saw nothing but impending ruin. In his distress he trusted to the advice of Parhaces, one of his father's freedmen. By that traitor he was thrown into fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. Gotarzes behaved with the pride and insolence of victory. He

reviled

reviled his captive as a stranger to the blood of the Arsacides, a man of foreign extraction, and a slave to Rome. He ordered his ears to be cut off, and left him, in that condition, a wretched proof of Parthian clemency, and a living disgrace to the Romans. Gotarzes was soon after carried off by a fit of illness. Vonones, at that time governor of Media, mounted the vacant throne. Of this prince, either in his distresses or his prosperity, nothing remains worthy of a place in history. After a short and inglorious reign, he left the Parthian diadem to his son Vologeses.

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
502.
A. D.
49.

XV. DURING these transactions, a new alarm was raised by Mithridates (*a*), king of Bosphorus, who had been lately driven out of his dominions. He continued, ever since his expulsion, wandering from place to place, forlorn and helpless. He learned, at length, that Didius, the Roman general, retired with the flower of his army, leaving the kingdom of Thrace in the hands of Cotys, a prince without experience, scarcely settled on the throne, and depending on the slender support of a few cohorts, under the command of Julius Aquila, a Roman knight. The news inspired Mithridates with sudden courage. He roused the neighbouring nations, drew together a body of deserters, and, putting himself at the head of his tumultuary levies, fell with impetuous fury on the king of the Dandarides (*b*), and made himself master of his dominions. The invasion of Bosphorus was expected to be his next attempt. Cotys and Aquila did not think themselves in force to resist the attack; and Zorsines, king of the Siracians (*c*), commencing hostilities in that critical juncture, added greatly to their fears. In this distress, they looked round to the neighbouring states for assistance; and by their ambassadors invited Eunones, king of the Adorsians, to join the Roman arms. In a war between a powerful nation and a ruined dismantled

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

802.

A. D.

49.

king, it was not difficult to form a new confederacy. The plan of their operations was soon settled. Eunones was to ravage the open country with his cavalry. The Romans undertook to lay siege to the towns and places of strength.

XVI. THE combined forces took the field. On their march the Adorfians (*a*) led the van, and also brought up the rear. The centre consisted of the cohorts and the succours collected in Bosphorus, armed after the Roman manner. The enemy not daring to look them in the face, they marched, without opposition, to the town of Soza (*b*), in the country of the Dardanides. Finding the place abandoned by Mithridates, they took possession, and, to guard against the treachery of the inhabitants, left it strongly garrisoned. They penetrated next into the country of the Siracians, and, having crossed the river Panda (*c*), invested the city of USPES, situated on an eminence, and defended by walls and a fosse. The walls, indeed, not being constructed with stone, but with earth thrown up and bound with hurdles, could not long resist the operations of a siege. Towers of considerable height were advanced against the works, and from that elevation darts and flaming brands were thrown into the town with such incessant fury, that, if the approach of night had not prevented a general assault, the siege had been begun and ended in a single day.

XVII. THE besieged, next morning, sent a deputation with offers of an immediate surrender, and no less than ten thousand slaves, on condition that the free-born should remain unhurt. The terms were rejected. After a capitulation, to put the inhabitants to the sword would be an act of inhumanity, and a violation of all the laws of war. On the other hand, to bridle such a number, an adequate force could not be spared from a scanty

scanty army. The besiegers, therefore, returned for answer, that every thing must be left to the decision of the sword. The soldiers scaled the walls, and the signal was given for a general slaughter. The city was levelled to the ground. The adjacent nations saw that neither arms, nor lines of circumvallation, nor places almost inaccessible, defended by nature and by rapid rivers, could withstand the vigour of the Roman arms. In this general consternation, Zorines, the Siracian king, began to waver. He now considered whether it were best to adhere to Mithridates, or to provide in time for the security of his own dominions. Self-interest prevailed. He gave hostages, and humbled himself before the image of Claudius. Nothing could be more honourable to the Roman army. Victorious without the loss of blood, they traversed a vast tract of country, and were within three days of the Tanais (*a*). Their return was not so prosperous. They went back by sea, and some of the ships were thrown by adverse winds on the coast of Taurus (*b*). The Barbarians poured down to the shore, and with savage fury murdered a considerable number, with the præfect of a cohort, and most of the centurions.

XVIII. MEANWHILE Mithridates, undone and hopeless, began to consider where he might implore compassion. His brother Cotys had at first betrayed him, and then became an open enemy: on him no reliance could be had. If he surrendered to the Romans, there was not in the territory of Bosphorus any one officer of weight and authority to ensure the performance of his promises. In this distress, the unhappy monarch turned his thoughts to Eunones. That prince had no motive for personal animosity, and his late alliance with Rome gave him no small degree of influence. Mithridates resolved to apply at that court. With a dejected mien, and a garb that spoke

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
49.

BOOK
XII.

A. U. C.

802.

A. D.

49.

spoke his wretchedness, he entered the palace, and falling prostrate at the feet of the king, "Behold," he said, "behold the
" man, who for years has grappled with the whole power of
" Rome. Mithridates humbles himself before you; the persecuted Mithridates, whom the Romans have pursued by sea and
" land. My fate is in your hands; use your discretion: treat,
" as you shall think best, a prince descended from the great
" Achæmenes (*a*). The honour of that high lineage is all my
" enemies have left me."

XIX. THE appearance of a man so distinguished, the turns of fortune that attended him, and, even in ruin, the affliction that softened, but could not subdue his spirit, touched Eunones with generous sympathy. He raised the royal suppliant from the ground. He praised the magnanimity with which he threw himself into the power of the Adorfian nation, and, with pleasure, undertook to be mediator between Rome and the unfortunate monarch. He dispatched messengers to Claudius with letters to the following effect: "In all treaties between the Roman people and foreign nations, similitude of fortune was the
" basis of their alliance. The present union between Claudius
" and the Adorfians was founded on a participation of victory;
" and victory is then most honourable when mercy spares the
" vanquished. Of this truth Zorfines is a recent instance. He
" still retains his former possessions. But equal terms could not
" be expected in the case of Mithridates. His offence was of a
" more grievous nature. To restore him to his throne and kingdom is not the object of this application. Spare his life, and
" let him not walk in fetters, a public spectacle to grace the
" victor's triumph."

XX. CLAUDIUS was, at all times, disposed to act with moderation

ration towards the nobility of foreign nations. In the present conjuncture, he doubted which were most expedient, to receive the royal prisoner under a promise of pardon, or to take him by force of arms. Resentment and the love of revenge were strong incentives; but still there were reasons of policy in the opposite scale. "A war must be commenced in a distant region, where
" the roads were difficult, and the sea had neither harbours nor
" stations for shipping; where the struggle would be with fierce
" and warlike kings, and a people by their wandering life inured
" to fatigue; where the soil was unproductive, and an army, of
" course, would be distressed for provisions. Campaigns drawn
" out into length would dispirit the soldiers; sudden operations
" might be attended with hazard; from victory no glory could
" redound to the Roman name, and to be defeated were inde-
" lible disgrace." For these reasons, it was judged advisable to accept the proffered terms. Mithridates, in that case, would remain a wandering exile, poor, distressed, and wretched. To protract his days were to protract his misery. Claudius returned an answer to Eunones: "Mithridates," he observed, "had merited the utmost rigour, and the vengeance of Rome
" was able to reach him. But to subdue the proud, and spare
" the suppliant, had ever been a Roman virtue. It was by
" curbing the pride of kings, and by conquering an entire people,
" that Rome acquired renown in arms. Then, and then only,
" she had reason to triumph."

XXI. IN consequence of these dispatches, Mithridates was delivered up to Julius Cilo, at that time imperial procurator of Pontus. He brought with him to Rome a mind unbroken by his misfortunes. In his language to Claudius he towered above his helpless condition. One sentence that fell from him was celebrated at the time. "In me you see a man, not taken pri-
" soner,

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
802.

A. D.
49.

“foner, but willing to furrender: I came of my own accord; “if you doubt the fact, fet me at liberty, and retake me if you “are able.” He was conducted under a guard to the rostrum, and there prefented as a fpectacle to the people. He flood unmoved, with his natural ferocity pictured in his countenance. Cilo and Aquila were rewarded for their fervices; the former with confular ornaments, and the latter with the enfigns of prætorian dignity.

XXII. DURING the fame confulship, the hatred of Agrippina, deep and implacable, broke out with gathered rage againft Lollia, who had been guilty of the crime of contending for the imperial bed. An accusation was foon contrived, and a profecutor fuborned. The fubftance of the charge was, “That in the late conteft for “the emperor’s choice, Lollia held consultations with Chaldæan “feers; that fhe employed magicians, and fent to confult the “Clarian Apollo.” She was condemned unheard. Claudius addreffed the fenate on the occafion. He mentioned the nobility of her birth; by the maternal line fhe was niece to Lucius Volufius, grand niece to Cotta Meffalinus, and formerly the wife of Memmius Regulus. He faid nothing of her marriage with Caligula (*a*). Having made that flourishing preface, he changed his tone, imputing to her dark defigns againft the ftate. To defeat her pernicious views, nothing remained but to confifcate her eftates, and banifh her out of Italy. The fenate complied. Out of her immoderate wealth fhe was allowed to retain no more than five millions of fefterces. Calpurnia, another woman of high rank, was obnoxious to the refentments of Agrippina. It happened that Claudius, in accidental difcourfe, without a wifh to enjoy her perfon, praifed the elegance of her figure. This gave jealousy to the empress. She confidered, however, that the mere crime of beauty did not deferve to

be punished with death. She sent a tribune to Lollia, with orders to make her put an end to her days. Cadius Rufus, at the same time, was found guilty of extortion at the suit of the Bithynians.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
49.

XXIII. As a mark of favour to the province of Narbon Gaul, and to reward the veneration in which the authority of the senate had ever been held by the people of that country, it was settled by a decree, that such of the natives as were Roman senators should be at liberty, without a special licence from the emperor, to visit their estates in their native province, with as full and ample privileges as had been granted to the Sicilian senators. Sohemus and Agrippa, kings of Ituria (*a*) and Judæa, being both dead, their respective territories were annexed to the province of Syria. An order was also made, that the auguries, relating to the public safety, which had lain dormant for five-and-twenty years, should be revived, and never again be suffered to fall into disuse. The limits (*b*) of the city were enlarged by Claudius. The right of directing that business was, by ancient usage, vested in all such as extended the boundaries of the empire. The right, however, had not been exercised by any of the Roman commanders (Sylla and Augustus excepted), though remote and powerful nations had been subdued by their victorious arms.

XXIV. WHAT was done in early times by the ambition or the public virtue of the Roman kings, cannot now be seen through the mist that hangs over distant ages. It may, however, be matter of some curiosity to mark out the foundation of the city, and the boundaries assigned by Romulus. The first outline began at the ox-market, where still is to be seen the brazen statue of a bull, that animal being commonly employed at

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
49.

the plough. From that place a furrow was carried on of sufficient dimensions to include the great altar of Hercules. By boundary-stones, fixed at proper distances, the circuit was continued along the foot of mount Palatine to the altar of CONSUS, extending thence to the old CURIÆ, next to the chapel of the LARES, and finally to the great Roman forum. The capitol, it is generally thought, was added, not by Romulus, but by Titus Tatius. From that period the city grew with the growth of the empire. With regard to the enlargement made by Claudius, the curious may be easily satisfied, as the public records contain an exact description.

A. U. C.
802.
A. D.
50.

XXV. IN the consulship of Caius Antistius and Marcus Sullius, the adoption of Domitius was hurried on by the credit and influence of Pallas. Connected with Agrippina, whom he had raised to imperial splendour, by ties of mutual interest, and still more so by the indulgence of criminal passions, this favourite advised his master to provide for the public safety, and, in aid to the tender years of Britannicus, to raise collateral branches in the Cæfarean line. For this measure Augustus had left a precedent. That emperor adopted the issue of his wife, though he had, in that very juncture, grand children to represent him. Tiberius copied the example, and to his own immediate offspring united Germanicus. It would therefore become the wisdom of Claudius to embrace, as his own, a young man who would in time be able to relieve the sovereign, and lighten the cares of government. Convinced by this reasoning, Claudius gave the precedence to Domitius, though but two years older than his own son. On this subject he made a speech to the senate, content to be the organ of what his freedman had suggested. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that this was the first adoption into the Claudian family; an old patrician

patrician line, which, from the days of Atta Clausus (*a*), had continued, without any mixture of foreign blood, in one regular course of descent.

B O O K
XII.
A. U. C.
803.
A. D.
50.

XXVI. THE senate passed a vote of thanks to the emperor; but in a style of exquisite flattery their court was chiefly paid to Domitius. A law was also enacted, by virtue of which the young prince, under the name of Nero, was naturalized into the Claudian family. Agrippina was dignified with the title of AUGUSTA. During these transactions, there was not a man so void of sentiment, as not to behold the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. His very slaves were taken from him. His step-mother interposed with officious civility. The young prince laughed at her kindness, aware of the underplot, which she was carrying on against him. Want of discernment was not among his faults. It has been said that he was by nature penetrating: that, perhaps, was his true character; or, it may be, that men were willing to give him credit for talents, without waiting to make the experiment.

XXVII. AGRIPPINA had now the ambition to display her weight and influence to the eyes of foreign nations. To this end she caused a body of veterans to be sent to the capital city of the Ubians, the place of her nativity, to be established there as a colony, called after her own name (*a*). When that people first passed over the Rhine, it happened that Agrippa, her grandfather, was the Roman general, who received them as the allies of Rome. In the present juncture, when the new colony was to be settled, a sudden alarm broke out in the Upper Germany, occasioned by an irruption of the Cattians (*b*), who issued forth from their hive in quest of plunder. To check their progress, Lucius Pomponius dispatched a body of auxiliary troops, composed

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

803.

A. D.

50.

posed of the Vangiones (*c*) and Nemetæans, with a squadron of light horse, to make a forced march, and, if they could not attack the front line of the Barbarians, to fall upon the rear. The ardour of the soldiers was not inferior to the skill of the general. They formed two divisions: one marched to the left, and came up with the freebooters, who had been committing depredations, and lay sunk in sleep and wine. The victory was cheap, but enhanced by the joy with which the conquering soldiers released, at the end of forty years, some of the prisoners who were taken in the massacre of Varus and his legions.

XXVIII. THE second division, which had marched to the right, and by a shorter road, met with greater success. The Barbarians ventured to give battle, and were defeated with prodigious slaughter. Elate with success, and loaded with spoils, the conquerors marched back to mount Taunus (*a*), where Pomponius, at the head of his legions, lay in wait, expecting that the Cattians, prompted by a spirit of revenge, would return to the charge. But the Barbarians, dreading the Romans on one side, and on the other, their constant enemies, the Cheruscans, sent a deputation to Rome, with hostages to secure a pacification. Triumphal honours were decreed to Pomponius; but military fame is the least part of the estimation in which he is held by posterity. He excelled in elegant composition, and the character of the general is now eclipsed by the genius of the poet.

XXIX. VANNIUS (*a*), who had been formerly raised by Drusus to reign over the Suevians, was, about this time, driven from his kingdom. His reign, at first, was mild and popular; but the habit of commanding had corrupted his nature. Pride and arrogance had taken root in his heart. Domestic factions conspired against him, and the neighbouring nations declared open

open hostility. Vibillius, king of the Hermundurians, conducted the enterprize. He was joined by Vangio and Sido, the nephews of Vannius by a sister. In this quarrel Claudius was determined not to interfere. Though often pressed to take a decided part, he observed a strict neutrality, content with promising the Suevian king a safe retreat from the rage of his enemies. In his dispatches to Publius Atellius Hister, who had the command in Pannonia, his orders were, that the legion and the troops of the province should be held in readiness on the banks of the Danube, to succour the vanquished, and repel the incursions of the Barbarians, if they attempted to invade the frontier. A powerful confederacy was then actually formed by the nations of Germany. The Ligians (*b*), and other states, were up in arms, attracted by the fame of an opulent kingdom, which Vannius, during a space of thirty years, had made still richer by plunder and depredations. To make head against the forces combined against him was not in the power of the Suevian king. The natural strength of his kingdom consisted of infantry only: the Iazigians (*c*), a people of Sarmatia, supplied him with a body of horse. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, Vannius felt his inferiority. He resolved to keep within the strong holds and fastnesses of the country, and draw the war into a lingering length.

B O O K
XII.
A. U. C.
803.
A. D.
50.

XXX. THE Iazigians were not of a temper to endure the slow operations of a siege. They spread themselves, in their desultory manner, round the country, and by their rashness brought on a general engagement. The Ligians and Hermundurians fell in with their roving parties. Vannius was obliged to fall out to the assistance of his friends. He gave battle, and was totally overthrown. But the praise of valour could not be withheld from him. Covered with honourable wounds, he

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
803.
A. D.
5c.

escaped to his fleet, which lay in the Danube. His partisans followed him, and, with a proper allotment of lands, were settled in Pannonia. The dominions of the deposed king were divided between his two nephews Vangio and Sido, both, from that time, distinguished by their fidelity to Rome. In the beginning of their reign, they flourished in the affections of the people; honoured by all, while they struggled for power; when they obtained it, despised and hated. Their own misconduct was, perhaps, the cause; perhaps, the fickle temper of the people; or, it may be, that in the nature and genius of servitude, there is a tendency to innovation, always discontented, fullen, and unquiet.

XXXI. PUBLIUS OSTORIUS was appointed governor of Britain, in the character of proprætor. On his arrival he found the province in commotion. A new commander, with an army wholly unknown to him, the Barbarians imagined would not venture to open a winter campaign. Fierce with this idea, they made an irruption into the territory of the states in alliance with Rome, and carried devastation through the country. Ostorius, knowing how much depends on the first operations of war, put himself at the head of the light cohorts, and, by rapid marches, advanced against the enemy. The Britons were taken by surprise. All who resisted were put to the sword. The fugitives were pursued with prodigious slaughter. The rout was so complete, that there was no reason to apprehend a junction of their forces; but peace on those terms, the general knew, would be no better than disguised hostility. The legions would still be subject to perpetual alarms from a fierce and insidious enemy. He therefore resolved to disarm all who were suspected, and, by extending a chain of forts between the Nen and the Severn (*a*), to confine the malecontents between those two rivers.

To

To counteract this design, the Icenians (*b*) took up arms; a brave and warlike people, who, at their own request, had lived in friendship with the Romans, and were, by consequence, unimpaired by the calamities of war. They formed a league with the adjacent states, and chose their ground for a decisive action. The place was inclosed with a rampart thrown up with sod, leaving an entrance in one part only, and that so difficult of access, that the Roman cavalry would not be able to force their way. Ostorius resolved to storm the place. Though unsupported by the legions, he relied on the valour of the allied forces, and, having formed his disposition for the attack, ordered his cavalry to dismount, and act with the foot soldiers. The signal being given, the assault began, and the rampart was carried by assault. The Britons, inclosed by their own fortifications, and pressed on every side, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Yet even in that distress, conscious of the guilt of rebellion, and seeing no way to escape, they fought to the last, and gave signal proofs of heroic bravery. In this engagement Marcus Ostorius, the general's son, saved the life of a Roman, and obtained the civic crown.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

803.

A. D.

50.

XXXII. THE defeat of the Icenians drew after it important consequences. The neighbouring nations, no longer balancing between peace and war, laid down their arms. Ostorius led his army against the Cangians (*a*), and laid waste their country. The soldiers carried off a considerable booty, the enemy never daring to make head against them. Wherever they attempted to annoy the army by sudden skirmishes, they paid for their rashness. The sea, that lies between Britain and Ireland, was within a short march, when Ostorius received intelligence of an insurrection among the Brigantes (*b*). The news obliged him to return with expedition. Till every thing was secured in his rear,

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

803.

A. D.

52.

rear, it was his maxim not to push on his conquests. The Brigantes were soon reduced to subjection. Such as resisted were cut to pieces, and a free pardon was granted to the rest. The Silures (*c*) were not so easily quelled: neither lenity nor rigorous measures could induce them to submit. To bridle the insolence of that warlike race, Ostorius judged it expedient to form a camp for the legions in the heart of their country. For this purpose a colony, supported by a strong body of veterans, was stationed at Camalodunum (*d*), on the lands conquered from the enemy. From this measure a twofold effect was expected: the garrison would be able to overawe the insurgents, and give to the allied states a specimen of law and civil policy.

XXXIII. THESE arrangements settled, Ostorius marched against the Silures. To their natural ferocity that people added the courage which they now derived from the presence of Caractacus (*a*). Renowned for his valour, and for various turns of good and evil fortune, that heroic chief had spread his fame through the island. His knowledge of the country, and his skill in all the wiles and stratagems of savage warfare, gave him many advantages; but he could not hope with inferior numbers to make a stand against a well-disciplined army. He therefore marched into the territory of the Ordovicians (*b*). Having there drawn to his standard all who considered peace with Rome as another name for slavery, he determined to try the issue of a battle. For this purpose he chose a spot (*c*) where the approach and the retreat were difficult to the enemy, and to himself every way advantageous. He took post in a situation defended by steep and craggy hills. In some places where the mountains opened, and the acclivity afforded an easy ascent, he fortified the spot with massy stones, heaped together in the form of a rampart. A river, with fords and shallows of uncertain depth, washed the
extremity

extremity of the plain. On the outside of his fortifications, a vast body of troops shewed themselves in force, and in order of battle.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

833.

A. D.

50.

XXXIV. THE chieftains of the various nations were busy in every quarter. They rushed along the ranks; they exhorted their men; they roused the timid; they confirmed the brave; and, by hopes, by promises, by every generous motive, inflamed the ardour of their troops. Caractacus was seen in every part of the field; he darted along the lines; he exclaimed aloud, “ This
“ day, my fellow-warriors, this very day decides the fate of Bri-
“ tain. The æra of liberty, or eternal bondage, begins from this
“ hour. Remember your brave and warlike ancestors, who met
“ Julius Cæsar in open combat, and chased him from the coast of
“ Britain. They were the men who freed their country from a
“ foreign yoke; who delivered the land from taxations, imposed
“ at the will of a master; who banished from your sight the fasces
“ and the Roman axes; and, above all, who rescued your wives
“ and daughters from violation.” The soldiers received this speech with shouts of applause. With a spirit of enthusiastic valour, each individual bound himself by the form of oath peculiar to his nation, to brave every danger, and prefer death to slavery.

XXXV. THE intrepid countenance of the Britons, and the spirit that animated their whole army, struck Ostorius with astonishment. He saw a river (*a*) to be passed; a palisade to be forced; a steep hill to be surmounted; and the several posts defended by a prodigious multitude. The soldiers, notwithstanding, burned with impatience for the onset. All things give way to valour, was the general cry. The tribunes and other officers seconded the ardour of the men. Ostorius reconnoitred the ground, and having marked where the defiles were impenetrable, or easy

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

803.

A. D.

50.

of approach, gave the signal for the attack. The river was passed with little difficulty. The Romans advanced to the parapet. The struggle there was obstinate, and, as long as it was fought with missile weapons, the Britons had the advantage. Ostorius ordered his men to advance under a military shell, and level the pile of stones, that served as a fence to the enemy. A close engagement followed. The Britons abandoned their ranks, and fled with precipitation to the ridge of the hills. The Romans pursued with eagerness. Not only the light troops, but even the legionary soldiers, forced their way to the summit of the hills, under a heavy shower of darts. The Britons, having neither breastplates nor helmets, were not able to maintain the conflict. The legions, sword in hand, or with their javelins, bore down all before them. The auxiliaries, with their spears and sabres, made prodigious havoc. The victory was decisive. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners. His brother surrendered at discretion.

XXXVI. CARACTACUS fled for protection to Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes. But adversity has no friends. By that princess he was loaded with irons, and delivered up to the conqueror. He had waged war with the Romans during the last nine years (*a*). His fame was not confined to his native island; it passed into the provinces, and spread all over Italy. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who, for such a length of time, made head against a great and powerful empire. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was in high celebrity. The emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the valour of the vanquished king. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp the prætorian bands were drawn up

under

under arms. The followers of the British chief walked in procession. The military accoutrements, the harness and rich collars, which he had gained in various battles, were displayed with pomp. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter, and his brother, followed next: he himself closed the melancholy train. The rest of the prisoners, struck with terror, descended to mean and abject supplications. Caractacus alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing, no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal, he delivered himself in the following manner:

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

803.

A. D.

50.

XXXVII. "If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of
"exalted station, I had united the virtues of moderation, Rome
"had beheld me, not in captivity, but a royal visitor, and a friend.
"The alliance of a prince, descended from an illustrious line of
"ancestors; a prince, whose sway extended over many nations,
"would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverse of
"fortune is now the lot of Caractacus. The event to you is glo-
"rious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, and men, and
"horses; I had wealth in abundance: can you wonder that I
"was unwilling to lose them? The ambition of Rome aspires to
"universal dominion: and must mankind, by consequence, stretch
"their necks to the yoke? I stood at bay for years: had I acted
"otherwise, where, on your part, had been the glory of con-
"quest, and where, on mine, the honour of a brave resistance? I
"am now in your power: if you are bent on vengeance, execute
"your purpose; the bloody scene will soon be over, and the
"name of Caractacus will sink into oblivion. Preserve my life,
"and I shall be, to late posterity, a monument of Roman cle-
"mency." Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the same to
his wife, his daughter, and his brother. Released from their fet-

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

83.

A. D.

50.

ters, they advanced to another tribunal near at hand, where Agrippina shewed herself in state. They returned thanks to her, and paid their veneration in the same style as they had before addressed to the emperor. The sight was altogether new. A woman, stationed amidst the ensigns and the armies of Rome, presented a spectacle unknown to the old republic: but in an empire, acquired by the valour of her ancestors, Agrippina claimed an equal share.

XXXVIII. AT the next meeting of the senate, the victory over Caractacus was mentioned with the highest applause, as an event no way inferior to what had been seen in ancient times, when Publius Scipio brought Syphax in chains to Rome; when Lucius Paulus led Perfes in captivity; and when other commanders exhibited to the Roman people kings and princes at their chariot wheels. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to Ostorius. That officer had hitherto seen his operations crowned with success. He began soon after to experience the vicissitudes of fortune. Perhaps the war, by the overthrow of Caractacus, was thought to be at an end, and, in that persuasion, military discipline was relaxed; perhaps the enemy, enraged by the loss of that gallant chief, fought with inflamed resentment. A camp had been formed in the country of the Silures, and a chain of forts was to be erected. The Britons in a body surrounded the officer who commanded the legionary cohorts, and, if succours had not arrived in time from the neighbouring garrisons, the whole corps had been cut to pieces. The præfect of the camp, with eight centurions and the bravest of the soldiers, were killed on the spot. A foraging party, and the detachment sent to support them, were soon after attacked, and put to the rout.

XXXIX. OSTORIUS, on the first alarm, ordered the light
armed

armed cohorts to advance against the enemy. That reinforcement was insufficient, till the legionary soldiers marched to their support. The battle was renewed, at first on equal terms, but, in the end, to the disadvantage of the Britons. But their loss was inconsiderable. The approach of night prevented a pursuit. From that time the Britons kept up a constant alarm. Frequent battles, or rather skirmishes, were fought with their detached parties, roving in quest of plunder. They met in sudden encounters, as chance directed, or valour prompted; in the fens, in the woods, in the narrow defiles; the men, on some occasions, led on by their chiefs, and frequently without their knowledge, as resentment, or the love of booty, happened to incite their fury. Of all the Britons, the Silures were the most determined. They fought with obstinacy, with inveterate hatred. It seems the Roman general had declared, that the very name of the Silures must be extirpated, like that of the Sigambrians, formerly driven out of Germany, and transplanted into Gaul. That expression reached the Silures, and roused their fiercest passions. Two auxiliary cohorts, whom the avarice of their officers sent in quest of plunder, were intercepted by that ferocious people, and all made prisoners. A fair distribution of the spoils and the captives drew the neighbouring states into the confederacy. Ostorius, at this time, was worn out with anxiety. He sunk under the fatigue, and expired, to the great joy of the Britons, who saw a great and able commander, not, indeed, slain in battle, but overcome by the war.

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
803.
A. D.
50.

XL. THE death of Ostorius being known at Rome, the emperor, aware that a province of so much importance ought not to remain without a governor, sent Aulus Didius to take upon him the command. That officer set out with all possible expedition; but on his arrival found the island in a state of distraction. The legion under Manlius Valens had risked a battle, and suffered a defeat.

BOOK
XII.
A. U. C.
803.
A. D.
3.

defeat. In order to impress with terror the new commander, the Britons took care to swell the fame of their victory. Didius, on his part, was willing to magnify the loss. The merit of the general, he knew, would rise in proportion to the danger surmounted; and if he failed, the difficulty would be an apology for his conduct. In the defeat of Valens, it was the nation of the Silures that struck the blow. Emboldened by success, they continued their prædatory war, till the arrival of Didius checked their operations. In this juncture Venusius was the British chieftain; a man, as already mentioned, born in the city of the Jugantes, and, since the loss of Caractacus, the first in fame for valour and military experience. He had married Cartimandua, the queen of the Brigantes; and while they lived on good terms, his fidelity to Rome remained inviolate. Being afterwards driven from her throne and bed, he pursued his revenge by open hostilities, and even dared to wage war against the Romans.

The quarrel was at first a civil war amongst themselves. Cartimandua contrived to seize, by stratagem, the brother of Venusius, with the rest of his kindred. The Britons by that event were fired with indignation. They scorned to submit to a female government (*a*), and, with the flower of their youth, attacked Cartimandua in the heart of her territories. The insurrection was foreseen, and a detachment from the cohorts was sent in time to counteract the motions of the enemy. An engagement followed, at first with doubtful success; but after a struggle, victory inclined to the side of the Romans. In another part of the country, the legion under the command of Cestius Nasicæ fought with equal success. Didius did not expose his person in any of these engagements. Impaired by years, and loaded with accumulated honours, he was content to act by his inferior officers; and while the enemy was kept in check, the honour of doing it was not his passion.

These transactions, which happened in the course of different years, under the conduct of Ostorius and Didius, are here related in one connected series, to avoid breaking the thread of the narration. I now return to the order of time.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
803.
A. D.
59.

XLI. IN the fifth consulship of Claudius, and the first of his colleague, Servius Cornelius Orphitus, the manly gown was assigned to Nero, before his time, that, though still under age, he might appear qualified to take upon him a share in public business. The senate, in a fit of adulation, resolved that the young prince should be declared capable of the consulship at the age of twenty, and be considered, in the mean time, as consul elect, with proconsular authority out of the city, and the additional title of prince of the Roman youth. Claudius not only assented to those flattering decrees, but, in the name of Nero, gave a largess to the people, and a donative to the army. To conciliate the affections of the people, the Circensian games were likewise exhibited. During that spectacle, Britannicus and Nero passed in review; the former clad in the prætexta, or the dress of his boyish days; the latter, with the triumphal ornaments of a Roman general. So glaring a difference struck the spectators, as a certain prelude of their future fortunes. Among the centurions and tribunes there were men of principle, who beheld the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. All such were removed from court; some under pretence of advancing them to higher offices, and the rest for plausible reasons. The policy was extended even to the freedmen. In that class, whoever was found to be above corruption, was dismissed from his place.

A. U. C.
804.
A. D.
51.

The two young princes met by accident. Nero saluted Britannicus by name, and in return was familiarly called DOMITIUS.

This

BOOK
XII.

A. U. C.

804.

A. D.

51.

This incident gave umbrage to Agrippina. She flew to the emperor with her complaint: "Contempt," she said, "was thrown on the adoption of Nero; what the senate decreed, and the voice of the people ratified, was repealed with contumacy in the very palace. If the men, who taught those dangerous lessons, were not repressed, the mischief would increase, and, perhaps, prove fatal to the commonwealth." Claudius was easily alarmed. He considered what was no more than bare surmise, as a crime then actually committed, and, accordingly, either sent into banishment, or put to death the best and ablest of his son's tutors. New men were appointed to superintend the prince's education, and the choice was left to the stepmother.

XLII. AGRIPPINA had still greater objects in view, but Lulius Geta and Rufius Crispinus were first to be removed from the command of the prætorian bands. They were both under obligations to Messalina, and, by sentiment, attached to her children. Men of their disposition might obstruct her measures. She represented to the emperor, that, under two rival commanders, the soldiers would be divided into factions; but if that important office centered in one person, all would act with a principle of union, and strict attention to military discipline. Claudius concurred in the same opinion. The command was given to Afranius Burrhus; an officer of great experience and a warlike character, but disposed to remember the friend that raised him to that elevation. Having succeeded in these arrangements, Agrippina thought it time to act without reserve: she claimed a right to be conveyed in her carriage to the capitol; a right, by ancient usage, allowed only to the sacerdotal order, the vestal virgins, and the statues of the gods. Being now communicated to Agrippina, it could not fail to raise the veneration of the people for a princess, in whom they saw the daughter

daughter (*a*), sister, wife, and mother of an emperor; a combination of illustrious titles never, before that time, united in one person.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

804.

A. D.

51.

In this juncture, Vitellius, the active leader of Agrippina's faction, after having stood high in the esteem of Claudius, was at last, in an advanced age, involved in a prosecution, set on foot against him by Junius Lupus, a member of the senate. Such is the instability of human grandeur! The charge imported violated majesty, and a design to seize the reins of government. Claudius was willing to listen to the story; but, by the interposition of Agrippina, who scorned to descend to prayers and supplications, the blow recoiled upon the prosecutor. He was interdicted from fire and water. To stretch resentment further was not the wish of Vitellius.

XLIII. IN the course of this year, the people were kept in a constant alarm by a succession of portents and prodigies. Birds of evil omen infested the capitol; earthquakes were felt; houses were laid in ruin, and while the multitude, in a general panic, pressed forward to make their escape, the feeble and infirm were trampled under foot. A dearth of corn brought on a famine: this too was deemed a prodigy. The people were not content to murmur their discontents; they crowded to the tribunal, and gathering round the emperor, then sitting in judgment, they forced him from his seat, and pushed him to the extremity of the forum. The guards came to his assistance, and Claudius made his way through the crowd. Fifteen days subsistence was the most that Rome had then in store. The winter, providentially, was mild and favourable to navigation: distress and misery must, otherwise, have been the consequence. In former times the case was very different. Italy was the granary that supplied foreign markets. Even at this hour, the prolific vigour of the soil is not

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

804.

A. D.

51.

worn out; but to depend on Egypt and Africa is the prevailing system. The lives of the people are, by choice, committed to the caprice of winds and waves.

XLIV. IN the same year the flame of war broke out between the Armenians and Iberians. The Romans and the Parthians were, by consequence, involved in the quarrel. The sceptre of Parthia was at that time swayed by Vologeses, with the consent of his brothers, though his mother, by birth a Greek, was no higher than a concubine. Pharasmanes reigned in Iberia, confirmed on his throne by long possession. His brother, Mithridates, received the regal diadem of Armenia from the power of Rome. The former had a son named Rhadamistus, of a tall and graceful stature, remarkable for bodily vigour, and an understanding perfectly trained in the political school of his father. His talents were high in the esteem of all the neighbouring states. He saw, with impatience, the old age of his father protracted to a length of years. To disguise his ambition was no part of his character. He expressed his discontent in a manner that alarmed Pharasmanes. That monarch saw the aspiring genius of his son; and, being in the decline of life, he dreaded the enterprising spirit of a young man, who had conciliated to himself the affections of the people. To change the tide of his passions, and find employment for him elsewhere, he held forth the kingdom of Armenia as a dazzling and inviting object: he himself, he said, expelled the Parthians, and placed Mithridates on the throne. Pharasmanes added, that it would not be advisable to proceed with open force. Covert stratagem might deceive Mithridates, and ensure success.

Rhadamistus made the best of his way to his uncle's court, as to a place of shelter from the displeasure of his father, and the tyranny of a step-mother. He met with a gracious reception. Mi-
thridates

thridates treated him as his own son, with all the tenderneſs of a father. The young prince, in the mean time, drew to his intereſt the nobility of the country; and, while his uncle loaded him with favours, he was buſy in forming a conſpiracy againſt the crown and life of his benefactor.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
804.
A. D.
51.

XLV. HAVING concerted his meaſures, he returned, under colour of a family-reconciliation, to his father's court. He there explained the progreſs of his treachery, the ſnares that were prepared, and the neceſſity of giving the finiſhing blow by force of arms. To find oſtenſible reaſons for open hoſtility, was not difficult to a politic genius like that of Pharaſmanes. He alleged, that in the war between himſelf and the king of the Albanians, his application to the Romans, for a reinforcement, was defeated by the practices of Mithridates; and an injury of ſo heinous a nature could not be expiated by any thing leſs than the ruin of the man who did the miſchief. To this end, he gave the command of his forces to his ſon, who entered Armenia at the head of a numerous army. An invaſion ſo unexpected filled Mithridates with conſternation. He fled the field, and, leaving the enemy in poſſeſſion of his camp, threw himſelf into the fort of Gorneas (*a*); a place ſtrong by nature, and defended by a Roman garrifon, under the command of Cælius Pollio, the præfect, and Caſperius, a centurion. The machinations of a ſiege, and the uſe of warlike engines, are things unknown to ſavage nations: the Romans have reduced that branch of the military art to a regular ſyſtem. Rhadamiftus attempted to carry the works by aſſault, but without effect, and with conſiderable loſs. He formed a blockade, and, in the mean time, made his approaches to the avarice of the governor. By bribes and preſents he bargained with that officer to betray his truſt. The centurion proteſted againſt ſo foul a treachery, declaring, in a tone of firmneſs, that he would neither agree to give

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
804.
A. D.
51.

up a confederate prince, nor to barter away the kingdom of Armenia, which had been assigned to Mithridates by the Roman people.

Pollio, the commander in chief, affected to dread the superior force of the enemy; and Rhadamistus, pleading the orders of his father, still urged on the siege. In this distress, Casperius, the centurion, stipulated a cessation of arms, and left the garrison, in order to have an interview with Pharasmanes, and deter him from prosecuting the war. If his endeavours failed, he resolved to proceed with expedition to Ummidius Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, in order to make that governor acquainted with the state of affairs, and the iniquity of the whole proceeding.

XLVI. THE centurion had no sooner left the place, than Pollio felt himself at liberty to act without controul. He advised Mithridates to compromise the quarrel, and end the war by a regular treaty. He urged the ties of natural affection between brothers, and the rights of seniority, which preponderated in favour of Pharasmanes. He added, that "Mithridates was, in fact, the son-in-law of his brother, and, at the same time, uncle, and father-in-law to Rhadamistus. The Iberians were superior in number, and yet willing to accede to terms of pacification. The perfidy of the Armenians was become proverbial. Pent up in a fortress, ill supplied with provisions, he could not hope to hold out much longer. In that distress, what room was left for deliberation? Peace, on reasonable terms, was preferable to a destructive war."

Such were the arguments urged by Cælius Pollio; but Mithridates suspected the counsels of a man, who had seduced one of the royal concubines, and shewn himself a venal tool, ready at the

the beck of the highest bidder, to commit any crime however atrocious. Meanwhile, Casperius reached the court of Pharasmanes. He expostulated with that monarch, and pressed him to raise the siege. The politic king amused the centurion with plausible answers. He talked in equivocal terms, and drew the business into a negociation, while his secret dispatches urged Rhadamistus, by any means, and without delay, to make himself master of the place. Pollio raised the price of his treachery, and Rhadamistus complied with his terms. In consequence of their bargain, the governor, by corrupt practices, contrived to make the soldiers demand a capitulation, and, if not granted, to threaten one and all to abandon the place. Mithridates, in that extremity, fixed the time and place for a congress, and went out of the garrison.

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
804.
A. D.
51.

XLVII. RHADAMISTUS advanced to meet him. He rushed to the king's embrace; he offered every mark of duty and respect to his uncle and his father-in-law; and, by a solemn oath, assured him that he would not at any time employ either sword or poison against his life. He decoyed Mithridates into a neighbouring wood, where he said a sacrifice was prepared, to ratify the treaty in the presence of the gods. Among the eastern kings, whenever they enter into mutual engagements, a peculiar custom prevails: the contracting parties take each other by the right hand, and with a ligature bind their thumbs together, till the blood is forced to the extremities, and with a slight puncture finds a vent. As it gushes forth, the kings apply their mouths to the orifice, and suck each other's blood. The treaty, in this manner, receives the highest sanction, signed, as it were, with the blood of the parties. On the present occasion, the person, whose office it was to tie the knot, pretending to have made a false step, fell at the feet of Mithridates, and laying hold of his knees,

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.
804.
A. D.
51.

knees, brought him to the ground. A crowd rushed in and bound the prostrate king with fetters. A chain was fastened to his foot, and in that condition (esteemed by those nations the highest disgrace) he was dragged along with brutal violence. The populace, resenting the grievances which they had suffered under an oppressive and despotic reign, insulted him with vulgar scurrility, and even with blows. Thinking men beheld the sad reverse with compassion. The wife of the unhappy monarch followed with her children, and filled the place with shrieks and lamentations. They were all secured in covered carriages, apart from each other, till the pleasure of Pharasmanes should be known. Lust of power was the passion of that prince. For a brother and a daughter not one tender sentiment remained. He ordered them to be put to death; but, though inured to crimes, not in his sight. Rhadamistus observed his oath with a pious fraud, that added to his guilt. He had bound himself not to use either sword or poison; but he smothered his uncle under a load of clothes, and by that evasion satisfied the religion of a murderer. The children of the unhappy monarch bewailed the loss of their father, and, for that crime, were massacred.

XLVIII. THIS act of treachery, and the murders that followed it, were soon made known to Quadratus. He called a council of war, and, after stating that the enemies of the deceased king were in possession of his dominions, the point which he submitted to consideration was, Whether, in that conjuncture, vindictive measures were advisable. Few at the meeting retained a sense of public honour. Maxims of policy and self-interest weighed with the majority. “The guilt,” they said, “of
“foreign nations gave a solid advantage to the empire, and for
“that reason ought to be a source of joy. To foment divisions
“among the enemies of Rome was the truest wisdom; and,
“with

“ with that view, the crown of Armenia had been often, with
 “ a show of generosity, dealt out by the emperor as the special
 “ gift of the Roman people. Let Rhadamistus hold his ill-
 “ gotten power; he will hold it with infamy, and the execration
 “ of mankind: while he owes his elevation to his crimes, he
 “ will effectually serve the interests of Rome.” This reasoning
 prevailed. The council, however, wished to save appearances.
 That they might not be thought to countenance a foul trans-
 action, which might afterwards provoke the emperor to issue
 contrary orders, it was agreed to send dispatches to Pharasmanes,
 requiring him forthwith to evacuate Armenia, and recall his
 son.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

804.

A. D.

51.

XLIX. IN that juncture Julius Pelignus, with the title of procurator, commanded in Cappadocia; a man, whom all orders of the people beheld with contempt and derision. The deformity of his person excited ridicule, and the qualities of his mind corresponded with his outward figure. He had lived, notwithstanding, in the closest intimacy with Claudius, at the time when that prince, as yet a private man, passed the hours of a stupid and listless life in the company of buffoons. Pelignus, in a fit of vain-glory, undertook to recover Armenia. Having drawn together the auxiliaries of the province, he marched at the head of his forces, and, in his route, plundered the allies, as if the war was with them, instead of the Iberians. Harassed by the sudden incursions of the barbarians, and deserted by his followers, he was left without resource. In that distress, he fled to Rhadamistus. Bribery soon purchased a man of his description. He advised the prince to assume the regal diadem, and assisted, under arms, at the coronation, at once the author of the measure, and the soldier to support it. A proceeding so vile and infamous could not be long unknown to the eastern nations. The
 character

BOOK
XII.

A. U. C.

804.

A. D.

51.

character of the Roman generals might, by consequence, sink into contempt; and therefore, to wipe off the disgrace, Helvidius Priscus was sent at the head of a legion, with orders to act as exigencies might require. That officer pressed forward with expedition. He passed mount Taurus, and, in the course of his march, restored the public tranquillity, not so much by the terror of his arms as by the wisdom and moderation of his councils. There was reason, however, to fear that his approach would give jealousy to the Parthians. To avoid a rupture with that people, Helvidius was ordered to return with his army into Syria.

L. VOLOGESES thought it a fair opportunity to recover the kingdom of Armenia. His ancestors had swayed the sceptre of that country, and now a foreign invader, by guilt and treachery, usurped the crown. The Parthian king saw his own brother Tiridates deprived of power. His pride could not brook that any part of his family should be left in that humble condition. Determined to dethrone the usurper, and invest his brother Tiridates with the regal diadem, he put himself at the head of a powerful army. The Iberians, without hazarding a battle, fled before the Parthian monarch. Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two principal cities of Armenia, opened their gates to the invader. The inclemency of the winter season, and the want of due attention to provide for the subsistence of an army, brought on a famine, and, by consequence, an epidemic disease. Vologeses was obliged to abandon his enterprise. Armenia was once more left defenceless. Rhadamistus seized his opportunity, and returned to his dominions, elate with pride, and fired with resentment against a people who had already betrayed him, and with their national inconstancy were ready on the first occasion to repeat their treachery. He mounted the throne;

but

but the people, though inured to servitude, grew impatient of the yoke. They resolved to depose the usurper, and in a body rushed forward, sword in hand, to invest the palace.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

804.

A. D.

51.

LI. RHADAMISTUS was obliged to consult his safety by flight. He escaped with his wife, and both owed their lives to the speed of their horses. The queen was far advanced in her pregnancy. Her dread of the enemy, conspiring with conjugal affection, served to animate her in the first hurry of their flight. She bore the fatigue with wonderful resolution. Her condition, however, was too feeble for the violence of so rapid a motion. Seized with pains in her womb, and unable to hold out longer, she intreated her husband to end her misery, and, by an honourable death, prevent the insults of impending bondage. Rhadamistus was distracted by the violence of contending passions; he clasped her in his arms; he supported her drooping spirits, and, by every tender persuasion, exhorted her to persevere. Her virtue charmed him, and the idea of leaving her to the embraces of another, pierced him to the quick. In a fit of despair and love, he drew his scymitar, and, with a hand already imbrued in blood, wounded the idol of his heart. In that condition he dragged her to the margin of the Araxes, and dashed her into the river, that her body might be carried away by the current, and never fall into the hands of his enemies. Having thus disposed of his wife, he fled towards Iberia, and pursued his way to his father's court.

Meanwhile, Zenobia (so the princess was named), floating gently down the stream, was seen by the shepherds on the smooth surface of the water, struggling in distress, and still with manifest signs of life. The elegance and dignity of her form announced a person of illustrious rank. They bound up her

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
804.
A. D.
51.

wounds, and gave her the physic of the field. Having soon after learned her name, and the story of her sufferings, they conveyed her to the city of Artaxata. From that place she was conducted, at the public expence, to the court of Tiridates, where she was graciously received, and treated with all the marks of royalty.

A. U. C.
805.
A. D.
52.

LII. DURING the consulship of Faustus Sylla and Salvius Otho, an accusation was set on foot against Furius Scribonianus. He was charged with having consulted the Chaldæans about the length of the emperor's reign, and condemned to banishment. Junia his mother, who had been formerly driven into exile, was accused of harbouring resentment, and still feeling with indignation the severity of her fate. Her husband Camillus, the father of Scribonianus, had levied war in Dalmatia, and obtained his pardon. From that circumstance, and, in the present case, from a second instance of clemency to a disaffected family, Claudius took occasion to boast of his moderation. The unhappy exile did not long survive his sentence; but whether he died by poison, or a natural death, cannot now be known. Reports were various at the time. The astrologers and mathematicians were banished out of Italy, by a decree of the senate, full of rigour, but ending in nothing. In a speech to the fathers Claudius bestowed great commendation on such of the members of that assembly as abdicated their rank on account of their narrow circumstances. Some were unwilling to withdraw their names, but they were all degraded as obstinate men, who to their poverty added pride and insolence.

LIII. DURING these transactions, a motion was made in the senate for a law to inflict certain penalties on such women as should disparage themselves by intermarrying with slaves. The
senate

senate decreed, that all who descended to so mean an act, without the consent of the master of the slave, should be considered as persons who had forfeited their rank, and passed into a state of slavery; if the master consented, his approbation should operate as a manumission only. The honour of this regulation the emperor ascribed to Pallas, and thereupon Barea Soranus, consul elect, moved, that the author of so wise a measure should be rewarded with prætorian ornaments, and a sum of fifteen million of sesterces. By way of amendment to the motion, Cornelius Scipio proposed that public thanks should be given to a man, who derived his origin from the ancient kings of Arcadia, and, notwithstanding the dignity of his rank, condescended to be classed among the ministers of the emperor. Claudius informed the senate, that Pallas was content with honours, and felt no ambition to emerge from his state of poverty. A decree was engraved on brass (*a*), exhibiting to the public eye a panegyric on the moderation of a manumitted slave, who had amassed no less than three hundred million of sesterces, and, with that sum in his pocket, could give so striking an example of ancient parsimony.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

805.

A. D.

52.

LIV. PALLAS had a brother known by the name of Felix, who had been for some time governor of Judæa. This man did not think it necessary to prescribe any restraint to his own desires. He considered his connection with the emperor's favourite as a license for the worst of crimes. The Jews, it is true, with a spirit little short of open rebellion, had refused, in the reign of Caligula, to place the statue of that emperor in the temple. Intelligence of his death arrived soon after; but even that event was not sufficient to allay the ferment. Future princes might have the same ambition, and the dread of a similar order kept the province in agitation. Felix inflamed the discontents

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
805.
A. D.
52.

of the people by improper remedies; and Ventidius Cumanus, to whom a part of the province was committed, was ready to co-operate in any wicked project. The Galilæans were under the controul of Cumanus; Felix governed the Samaritans. Those two nations, always fierce and turbulent, were at variance with each other, and now, when they despised their governors, their animosity broke out with redoubled fury.

They waged a predatory war; laid waste each others lands, rushed from their ambuscade to sudden encounters, and, at times, tried their strength in regular engagements. The plunder of the war was given up to their rapacious governors, who, therefore, connived at the mischief. The disorders of the province grew to an alarming height, insomuch that the two governors were forced, at last, to have recourse to arms in order to quell the tumult. The Jews resisted, and numbers of the Roman soldiers were massacred in the fray. Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, saw the danger of an impending war, and, to restore the public tranquillity, advanced at the head of his forces. The insurgents, who rose in arms against the Roman soldiers, were punished with death. That measure was soon decided; but the conduct of Felix and Cumanus held the general in suspense. Claudius, duly apprised of the rebellion, and the causes from which it sprung, sent a commission directing an inquiry, with power to try and pronounce judgment on the two provincial ministers. To make an end of all difficulties, Quadratus placed Felix on the tribunal among the judges, and, by that measure, sheltered him from his enemies. Cumanus was found guilty of the crimes committed by both, and in this manner the peace of the province was restored.

LV. CILICIA was soon after thrown into convulsions. The
peasants

peasants of that country, known by the name of the Clitæans (*a*), a wild and savage race, inured to plunder and sudden commotions, assembled under Trofobor, a warlike chief, and pitched their camp on the summit of a mountain, steep, craggy, and almost inaccessible. From their fastnesses they came rushing down on the plain, and, stretching along the coast, attacked the neighbouring cities. They plundered the people, robbed the merchants, and utterly ruined navigation and commerce. They laid siege to the city of Anemurium, and dispersed a body of horse, sent from Syria, under Curtius Severus, to the relief of the place. With that detachment the freebooters dared to hazard battle. The ground being rugged, disadvantageous to cavalry, and convenient only to foot soldiers, the Romans were totally routed. At length Antiochus, the reigning king of the country, appeased the insurrection. By popular arts he gained the good will of the multitude, and proceeded by stratagem against their leader. The confederates being ruined by disunion among themselves, Trofobor, with his principal adherents, was put to death. By conciliating measures the rest were brought to a sense of their duty.

B O O K
XII.A. U. C.
805.
A. D.
52.

LVI. It was about this time, that between the lake Fucinus and the river Liris (*a*), a passage was cut through a mountain. That a work of such magnificence (*b*) should be seen to advantage, Claudius exhibited on the lake a naval engagement, in imitation of Augustus, who formed an artificial basin on the banks of the Tiber, and gave a spectacle of the same kind, but with lighter vessels, and an inferior number of mariners. Ships of three and even four ranks of oars were equipped by Claudius, with no less than nineteen thousand armed men on board. To prevent a deviation from the fight, the lake was fenced round with rafts of timber (*c*), leaving the intermediate space wide
enough

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

805.

A. D.

52.

enough to give free play to the oars; ample room for the pilots to display their skill, and, in the attack, to exhibit the various operations of a sea fight. The prætorian guards stood on the rafts of timber, ranged in their several companies. In their front redoubts were raised, with proper engines for throwing up massy stones and all kinds of missile weapons. The rest of the lake was assigned to the ships. The mariners and combatants filled the decks. An incredible multitude of spectators from the neighbouring towns, and even from Rome, attracted by the spectacle, or with a view to pay their court to the emperor, crowded round the borders of the lake. The banks, the rising ground, the ridge of the adjacent hills, presented to the eye a magnificent scene, in the form of an amphitheatre. Claudius and Agrippina presided at the show; the prince in a superb coat of mail, and the empress in a splendid mantle, which was a complete tissue of entire gold (*d*). The fleet was manned with malefactors; but the battle, nevertheless, was fought with heroic bravery. After many wounds, and a great effusion of blood, to favour a set of men who had performed feats of valour, the survivors were excused from fighting to destruction.

LVII. THE whole of this magnificent spectacle being concluded, the channel through which the waters flowed was laid open, and then it appeared with what little skill the work was executed. The bed was not sunk deep enough to gain a level either with the middle or the extremities of the lake. It was found necessary to clear away the ground, and give the current a freer course. The work was finished with expedition, and, to attract a multitude of spectators, bridges were thrown over the lake, so constructed as to admit a foot engagement. On this prodigious platform a show of gladiators was exhibited. Near the mouth of the lake a sumptuous banquet was prepared; but the

the spot was ill-chosen. The weight of a vast body of water rushing down with irresistible force, carried away the contiguous parts of the works, and shook the whole fabric. Confusion and uproar filled the place. The roar of the torrent, and the noise of materials tumbling in, spread a general alarm. Claudius stood in astonishment. Agrippina seized the moment to accuse Narcissus, who had the direction of the whole. She imputed the mischief to his avarice. The favourite made reprisals on the character of Agrippina, condemning, without reserve, the impotence of a female spirit, her overbearing pride, and boundless ambition.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

805.

A. D.

52.

LVIII. DECIMUS JUNIUS and Quintus Haterius succeeded to the consulship. In the course of the year Nero, who had attained the age of sixteen, was joined in marriage to Octavia, the emperor's daughter. To grace his character with the fame of liberal science and the powers of eloquence, he undertook the cause of the inhabitants of Ilium. The young orator began with a deduction of the Roman people from a Trojan origin. Æneas, the founder of the Julian family, and other passages drawn from antiquity, but in their nature fabulous, served to embellish his discourse. He succeeded for his clients, and obtained an entire exemption from imposts of every kind. He was advocate also for the colony of the Bolognians, who had lately suffered by fire. By the rhetoric of their pleader they obtained a grant of one hundred thousand sesterces. The Rhodians, in like manner, were obliged to his talents. That people, after many vicissitudes, sometimes in full possession of their privileges, and occasionally deprived of all, as they happened to be friendly or adverse to the Roman arms, had their rights confirmed in the amplest manner. The city of Apamea, which had been damaged by an earthquake,

A. U. C.

86.

A. D.

53.

BOOK
XII.

A. U. C.

806.

A. D.

53.

quake, owed to the eloquence of their advocate a suspension of all dues for the term of five years.

LIX. IN a short time after, the conduct of Claudius, under the management of the wife, presented a contrast of cruelty to all these acts of benevolence. Agrippina panted for the gardens of Statilius Taurus. He had been proconsul of Africa, and possessed a brilliant fortune. Tarquinius Priscus had served under him as his lieutenant. At the instigation of Agrippina, this man preferred a charge against his superior officer, founded on some articles of extortion, but resting chiefly on the practice of magic arts. Taurus was fired with indignation at the perfidy of his colleague. Seeing himself devoted to destruction, he resolved not to wait the final sentence, and with his own hand delivered himself from the malice of his enemies. The prosecutor was expelled the senate. The members of that assembly, detesting the treachery of this vile informer, carried their point, in spite of the arts and secret influence of Agrippina.

LX. IN the course of this year, the emperor gave to his favourite political maxim the force of a law. He had been often heard to say, "that the judicial resolutions of the imperial procurators ought to be, in their several provinces, of as high authority as if they had been pronounced by himself." To shew that this was not spoken in vain, the doctrine was confirmed by a decree that carried the principle to a greater extent than ever. By a regulation made by Augustus, the Roman knights, who ruled the provinces of Ægypt, were empowered, in all cases, to hear and determine with as full authority as the magistrates of Rome. The rule was afterwards extended to other provinces, and, even at Rome, the jurisdiction of the knights embraced a variety of questions, which till then were cognizable

cognizable by the prætor only. Claudius enlarged the powers of his favourites, and finally vested in that body the judicial authority, which had been for ages the cause of civil commotions; for which the people had shed their blood; and which, in those memorable struggles, was given by the Sempronian law (*a*) to the equestrian order, till, in some time afterwards, the Servilian law restored it to the senate. In the wars between Marius and Sylla this was the cause of that fierce contention; but, in those turbulent times, the different orders of the state were engaged in factions against each other. The party that prevailed, called itself the Public, and made laws in the name of the commonwealth. Caius Oppius and Cornelius Balbus, supported by Augustus, were the first who decided the rights of war and peace. To mention, after them, the names of Matius, Veditius, and others of the equestrian order, seems now entirely needless; since we find the enfranchised slaves of Claudius, men no higher than mere domestic servants, raised to a level with the prince, and armed with the authority of the laws.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

806.

A. D.

53.

LXI. A GRANT to the people of Coos(*a*), of a general immunity from taxes, was the next measure proposed by the emperor. He introduced the question with a splendid account of their ancient origin. “The Argives, or, at least, Cœus, the father of
“Latona, first settled on the island. Æsculapius arrived soon
“after, and carried with him the invention of medicine. That
“useful science continued in his family through a long line of
“descendants.” He mentioned by name the several persons in regular succession, and the period of time in which they flourished. He added, that Zenophon, his own physician, was descended from that illustrious family. The exemption, therefore, now requested by a man of such distinguished eminence, ought to be granted, in favour of an island so famous in story, to the end that the inha-

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

806.

A. D.

53.

bitants, free from every burthen, might dedicate themselves altogether to the worship of their God. A more substantial plea of merit might have been urged in their favour. They could boast, with truth, of singular services done to the Romans, and could set forth the victories obtained by their assistance; but Claudius, with his usual facility, chose to gratify the wishes of an individual, and, in his opinion, the favour which he conferred ought not to be varnished with considerations of a public nature.

LXII. THE deputies from Byzantium (*a*) were admitted to an audience before the senate. They prayed to be relieved from the heavy rates and duties under which they laboured. They relied on the merit of having been, for a length of time, the faithful allies of Rome. They traced the history of their services from the war in Macedonia, when the king of that country, on account of his degenerate character, was called Pseudophilippus, or Philip the False (*b*). They alleged, moreover, the succours which they sent against Antiochus (*c*); against Perseus, and Aristonicus; the assistance, which they gave to Anthony (*d*) in the piratic war, and, afterwards, to Sylla, to Lucullus, and Pompey. Nor did they omit their zeal for the Cæsars at the time when they entered Byzantium, and found not only a free passage for their fleets and armies, but likewise a safe conveyance for their provisions and military stores.

LXIII. BYZANTIUM, it is well known, stands at the extremity of Europe, on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia. The city was built by the Greeks, who were led to the spot by the Pythian Apollo. They consulted that oracle about the proper place for a new city, and received for answer, that they should choose a foundation directly opposite to the territory of the blind. The advice, though dark and mysterious, pointed the people

people of Chalcedon (*a*), the first adventurers in that part of the world, who had their opportunity to seize the best situation, and, through want of discernment, chose the worst. Byzantium enjoys many advantages: the soil is fertile, and the sea abounds with fish, occasioned by the prodigious shoals, that pour down from the Pontic sea, and, to avoid the rocks which lurk beneath the waves on the Chalcedonian coast, make directly to the opposite shore, and fall into the bay of Byzantium. The fishery was at first a great branch of commerce. In process of time, the trade was cramped by excessive impositions; and to be relieved, either by a total extinction, or, at least, a reduction of the duties, was now the prayer of their petition. Claudius was inclined to favour their cause: in the late wars in Thrace and Bosphorus, they had suffered heavy losses; and it was, therefore, proper to grant them a compensation. They were accordingly freed from all duties for the term of five years.

B O O K
X II.
A. U. C.
806.
A. D.
53.

LXIV. IN the consulship of Marcus Asinius and Manius Acilius, a succession of prodigies kept the minds of men in constant dread of some violent convulsion in the state. The tents and ensigns of the soldiers were set on fire by a flash of lightning; a swarm of bees settled on the capitol; women were delivered of monstrous births; and a pig, as soon as farrowed, had the talons of a hawk. It happened, at this time, that every order of the magistracy was short of its proper number, the public having lost by death, within a few months, a quæstor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul. This was reckoned among the prodigies. Amidst the consternation that covered the whole city, no person whatever was so seriously alarmed as Agrippina. Claudius, it seems, had said in conversation, that, by some fatality, it had been his constant lot to bear, for a time, the irregularities of his wives, and in the end to punish them. The expression fell from him in

A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

BOOK
XII.A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

his liquor. Agrippina knew the force of it, and resolved to take her measures beforehand. But Domitia Lepida, whom she hated for female reasons, was to be the first devoted victim. She was the daughter of the younger Antonia, great niece to Augustus, and sister to Cneius Domitius (*a*), the first husband of the empress. Proud of these advantages, Lepida considered herself no way inferior to the imperial consort. Their age, their beauty, and their riches were nearly on a level; both of dissolute manners, proud, fierce, lascivious, and in their vices, no less than their views of ambition, determined rivals. Which of them should have entire dominion over the mind of Nero, the aunt or the mother, was the point in dispute between them. Lepida made her approaches to the young prince by affability and softness of manners. Her liberality and endearing tenderness gained the affections of the prince. Agrippina behaved with the authority of a mother, eager to grasp the imperial dignity for her son, and, when she gained it, unwilling to own him for her sovereign.

LXV. A CHARGE was framed against Lepida, importing, “That
“ by magic arts she aspired to the emperor’s bed, and; by neg-
“ lecting to bridle the insolence of her numerous slaves in Cala-
“ bria, she shewed herself an enemy to the peace of Italy.” She
was condemned to die. Narcissus endeavoured to avert the sen-
tence; but his efforts were ineffectual. That minister had for
some time beheld Agrippina with deep mistrust. He saw through
her designs, and, to his select friends, did not scruple to declare,
“ That whatever became of the succession, whether it devolved on
“ Nero or Britannicus, the dilemma would either way be fatal to
“ himself. He was bound, however, to the emperor by ties of
“ gratitude, and in his service was ready to lay down his life. It
“ was by his counsels that Silius and Messalina were both undone.
“ Should Nero seize the sovereignty, the crimes of his mother
“ might

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

807.

A. D.

54.

“ might bring forward the same catastrophe ; and if Britannicus
 “ succeeded to the empire, with that prince he had no claim of
 “ merit. At present, a step-mother plans the ruin of the imperial
 “ house. To look on in silence, and yield to her towering am-
 “ bition, were a more flagitious crime, than to have connived at
 “ the vices of the emperor’s former wife. . . But the vices of the
 “ former wife are now renewed by Agrippina. Her adulterous
 “ commerce with Pallas is too well known ; and it is equally
 “ known, that her modesty, her fame, her honour, and even her
 “ person, all are subservient to her ambition.” Such was the
 language of Narcissus. In the warmth of his emotions he em-
 braced Britannicus ; he hoped to see him grow up to man’s
 estate ; he fixed his eyes on the prince ; he lifted up his hands to
 the gods, devoutly praying that he might live to crush the enemies
 of his father, even though all, who took an active part against
 his mother, should be doomed to perish with them.

LXVL In the midst of these distractions, Claudius was at-
 tacked by a fit of illness. For the recovery of his health he set
 out for Sinuessæ (*a*), to try the effect of a milder air, and the fa-
 lubrious waters of the place. Agrippina thought she had now an
 opportunity to execute the black design which she had long
 since harboured in her breast. Instruments of guilt were ready at
 her beck, but the choice of the poison was still to be considered :
 if quick and sudden in its operation, the treachery would be ma-
 nifest : a slow corrosive would bring on a lingering death. In
 that case, the danger was, that the conspiracy might, in the in-
 terval, be detected, or, in the weakness and decay of nature, the
 affections of a father might return, and plead in favour of Bri-
 tannicus. She resolved to try a compound of new and exqui-
 site ingredients, such as would make directly to the brain, yet not
 bring on an immediate dissolution. A person of well-known
 skill :

B O O K

XII.

A. U. C.

807.

A. D.

54.

skill in the trade of poisoning was chosen for the business. This was the famous Locusta; a woman lately condemned as a dealer in clandestine practices, but reserved among the instruments of state to serve the purposes of dark ambition. By this tool of iniquity the mixture was prepared. The hand to administer it was that of Halotus, the eunuch, whose business it was to serve the emperor's table, and taste the viands for his master.

LXVII. THE particulars of this black conspiracy transpired in some time after, and found their way into the memoirs of the age. We are told by the writers of that day, that a palatable dish of mushrooms was the vehicle of the poison. The effect was not soon perceived. Through excess of wine or the stupidity of his nature, perhaps the strength of his constitution, Claudius remained insensible. An effort of nature followed, and gave him some relief. Agrippina trembled for herself. To dare boldly was now her best expedient. Regardless of her fame, and all that report could spread abroad, she had recourse to Zenophon, the physician, whom she had seduced to her interest. Under pretence of assisting Claudius to unload his stomach, this man, it is said, made use of a feather tinged with the most subtle poison, and with that instrument searched the emperor's throat. With the true spirit of an assassin he knew, that, in atrocious deeds, a feeble attempt serves only to confound the guilty, while the deed, executed with courage, consummates all, and is sure to earn the wages of iniquity.

LXVIII. MEANWHILE, the senate was convened, and, though the emperor had breathed his last, the consuls and the pontiffs joined in vows and supplications for his recovery. Medical preparations were still applied to a lifeless body, and the farce of attending the sick was continued, till proper measures were taken for the succession

sion of Nero. Agrippina, with a dejected mien, affected to sink under the weight of affliction. She looked round for consolation, and seeing Britannicus, she folded him in her arms, and called him, with expressions of tenderness, the image of his father. She detained him with fond caresses, and never suffered him to leave the apartment. With the same deceitful arts she contrived to decoy his two sisters, Antonia and Octavia. The avenues of the palace were closely guarded, and, at intervals, favourable accounts of the emperor were issued, the better to keep every thing in suspense, and amuse the hopes and fears of the soldiers, till the arrival of the propitious moment, promised by the Chaldæan astrologers.

B O O K
XII.

A. U. C.

807.

A. D.

54.

LXIX. AT length, on the third day before the ides of October (*a*), about noon, the palace gates were thrown open. A prætorian cohort, as usual, was drawn up under arms. Nero, attended by Burrhus, made his appearance, and, on a signal given by the commanding officer, the soldiers received him with shouts and acclamations. He was immediately put into a litter. Some of the soldiers, we are told, even in that scene of joy and uproar, looked around for Britannicus, and asked in vain for that unfortunate prince. None of his party appearing, they yielded to the impulse of the moment. Nero was conveyed to the camp. He addressed the soldiers in a speech suited to the occasion, and promised a donative, equal to the liberality of his deceased father. He was proclaimed Emperor of Rome. The voice of the army was confirmed by the senate. The provinces acquiesced without reluctance. Divine honours were decreed to the memory of Claudius, and funeral ceremonies, not inferior to the magnificence that attended the remains of Augustus. In this article, Agrippina was willing to vie with the pomp displayed by her great-grandmother Livia. The will of the deceased emperor

THE ANNALS, &c.

104

BOOK
XII.

A. U. C.

807.

A. D.

54.

peror was not read in public. The preference given to the son of his wife, in prejudice to the rights of his own immediate issue, might raise a spirit of discontent, and alienate the affections of the people.

END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

T H E

A N N A L S

O F

T A C I T U S

B O O K XIII.

VOL. II.

P

CONTENTS OF BOOK XIII.

- I. *SILANUS*, proconsul of Asia, poisoned at the instigation of *Agrippina*. *Narcissus*, the late emperor's freedman, destroyed, though favoured by Nero on account of his vices.
- II. The characters of *Burrhus* and of *Seneca*. Funeral of *Claudius*; Nero delivers the oration. IV. The beginning of Nero's reign promises well. The senate acts with independence. VI. The Parthians claim a right over the kingdom of Armenia. *Corbulo* sent to command the army against them. His message to *Vologeses*, king of Parthia, who delivers hostages. The senate proposes to make the year begin from the first of December, the month in which Nero was born: the prince rejects the proposal.
- XII. Nero's passion for *Acté*, an enfranchised slave. *Agrippina's* indignation; her power diminished. XIV. *Pallas* dismissed from court, and Nero's observation upon it. XV. *Britannicus* poisoned, and his funeral in the dead of night.
- XVIII. *Agrippina* obnoxious to Nero, who removes her from his palace to another mansion. She is accused of designs against the state. Nero is for putting her to death. *Burrhus* goes to hear her defence. Her haughty spirit. She punishes her enemies, and rewards her friends. XXIII. *Pallas* and *Burrhus* accused; both acquitted, and the prosecutor banished. XXV. Nero's debauchery and midnight riots. XXVI. Debates in the senate about the insolence of the freedmen. A proposal to make them subject to their original bondage. XXVIII. The jurisdiction

CONTENTS OF BOOK XIII.

dition of the tribunes and ædiles restrained within narrower limits. Short history of the administration of the revenue. XXX. Vipsanius Lenas condemned. Lucius Volusius dies at the age of ninety-three: his character. XXXI. The magistrates chosen for the provinces not to give public spectacles. Regulations for protecting the masters against their slaves. Pomponia Græcina charged with embracing a foreign superstition, and acquitted by the judgment of her husband. XXXIII. Publius Celer, Cossutianus Capito, and Eprius Marcellus accused of extortion. XXXIV. Nero's bounty to Valerius Messala, and others. New broils with the Parthians about Armenia. Corbulo reforms his soldiers by the rigour of his discipline. He enters Armenia: his army suffers by the inclemency of the winter. Tiridates, brother to Vologeses, king of Parthia, makes head against him, but in vain. He flies before the Romans: Corbulo takes the city of Artaxata, and burns it to the ground. XLII. Publius Suillius accused at Rome: he rails bitterly against Seneca. He is tried, and condemned. XLIV. Octavius Sagitta, in a fit of love and fury, stabs Pontia because she is not willing to perform a promise of marriage. The fidelity of his freedman: Sagitta is condemned. XLV. Nero's passion for Sabina Poppæa. Her history, her beauty, and her artifices. Ottho seduced her from her husband, Rufus Crispinus. Nero in love with her. He sends Ottho to the government of Lusitania. XLVII. Nero throws off the mask. He sends Cornelius Sylla into banishment. A sedition at Puzzoli suppressed by military force. XLIX. Pætus Thrasea opposes a motion in the senate: his enemies inveigh against his character; his answer to his friends. L. The exorbitant practices of the tax-gatherers restrained. Nero thinks of remitting all taxes whatever, but is dissuaded from it. The revenue laws laid open to the public. LIII. The tranquillity of affairs in Germany. The Frisians take the opportunity to settle on the banks of the Rhine. Their two leading chiefs go to Rome

to solicit the emperor. Their behaviour in Pompey's theatre. By Nero's order the Frisians exterminated. The Ansibarians, under Boiocalus, make the same attempt, and with no better success. The spirited answer of Boiocalus to the Roman general.
 LVII. *War between the Hermundurians and the Cattians: both nations entertain superstitious notions about a river that produces salt; their quarrel on that account more fierce and violent. The Hermundurians conquer, and the Cattians almost cut to pieces.*
 LVIII. *The Ruminal tree, that gave shade to Romulus and Remus, begins to decay; this was deemed an ill omen, till the branches once more displayed their leaves.*

These transactions passed in four years.

Years of Rome—of Christ	Consuls
808	55 <i>The emperor Nero, L. Antistius Vetus.</i>
809	56 <i>Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio.</i>
810	57 <i>Nero, 2d time, L. Calpurnius Piso.</i>
811	58 <i>Nero, 3d time, Valerius Messala.</i>

T H E

A N N A L S

O F

T A C I T U S.

B O O K XIII.

I. **T**H E new reign opened with the murder of Junius Silanus (*a*), proconsul of Asia. The deed was perpetrated, by the contrivance of Agrippina, without the knowledge of Nero. In the character and conduct of Silanus there was nothing that could provoke his fate. Under the preceding emperors he had led a life so inactive, that he fell into contempt, and was called by Caligula, "The Golden Calf." But Agrippina had cut off his brother Lucius Silanus, and lived in fear of the vengeance due to her crime. Her son Nero, not yet arrived at years of discretion, was raised by her treacherous arts to the sovereign power, and, in opposition to that measure, the public voice was loud in favour of Silanus, a man every way qualified, of an un-

derstand-

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

857.

A. D.

54.

derstanding matured by years, an unblemished character, by his birth illustrious, and (what was then of great importance) descended from the house of Cæsar. Silanus, in fact, was the great grandson of Augustus. These circumstances conspired to work his ruin. The actors in this dark transaction were Publius Celer, a Roman knight, and Helius, an enfranchised slave; both employed in Asia to collect the revenues of the prince. At a public feast those two conspirators administered a dose of poison to the proconsul with so little precaution, that secrecy did not seem to be worth their care. The murder of Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, was dispatched with as little ceremony. The quarrel between him and Agrippina (*b*) has been already stated. He was thrown into prison, and there confined in close and rigorous custody, till, driven to the extremity of want, he put an end to his misery with his own hand. Nero wished to prolong his days. The secret vices of the prince, though they had not then broke out into action, inclined him, by a wonderful bias of nature, to favour a man in whose avarice and prodigality he saw the counterpart of himself.

II. A NUMBER of other victims were marked for destruction; and Rome would have been a theatre of blood, had not Afranius Burrhus and Annæus Seneca prevented the impending danger. The education of the emperor had been committed to those two ministers; both high in power, and yet (uncommon as it is) free from jealousy; possessing different talents, united by sentiment, and each, in his peculiar province, of great consideration. Burrhus gave the prince instructions in the military science, and the austerity of his manners added weight to his precepts. Seneca taught the principles of eloquence, and charmed by the suavity of his manners. The two preceptors exerted their joint endeavours to fix in the prince's mind the principles of virtue, or,
if

if that could not be, to restrain his youthful passions, and, by moderate indulgence, infuse into his mind a taste for elegant, if not innocent pleasures.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

807.

A. D.

54.

Agrippina threw difficulties in their way. Fierce with all the passions that attend inordinate ambition, she was supported, in her worst designs, by Pallas, that pernicious favourite, who incited Claudius to an incestuous marriage, and advised the adoption of Nero; two fatal measures, by which that emperor was precipitated to his ruin. But it was not in the temper or genius of Nero to bend to the politics of a freedman; on the other hand, the arrogance of Pallas, who aspired above himself, gave disgust to the prince. Public honours, in the mean time, were bestowed with a lavish hand on the emperor's mother. To a tribune, who, according to the military practice, asked for the word, Nero gave "THE BEST OF MOTHERS." Two lictors, by a decree of the senate, were ordered to attend her person. She was, at the same time, declared the priestess of Claudius. The funeral of that prince was performed with all the pomp of cenforial obsequies. He was, afterwards, added to the number of the gods.

III. NERO pronounced the funeral oration. He represented, in the brightest colours, the illustrious birth of the deceased emperor, the number of his consulships, and the triumphal honours of his ancestors. On those topics he dwelt with propriety, and commanded attention. The taste of Claudius for the liberal arts, and the undisturbed tranquillity that prevailed throughout his reign, afforded ample room for panegyric, and the orator was heard with pleasure. But when the judgment and political wisdom of Claudius were mentioned with praise and decorations of language, the ridicule was too strong, and none could refrain from

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

from laughter. And yet the speech was written by Seneca, in a style of elegance peculiar to that amiable writer, who possessed a vein of wit and fancy, that charmed the taste of the age in which he lived. It was observed, on this occasion, by men advanced in life, who love, at leisure, to compare the past with the present times, that of all the emperors, Nero was the first, who was content to be the organ of another's eloquence. In Cæsar the dictator the most eminent orators found an illustrious rival. Augustus had a flow of language, easy, clear, and copious, well suited to the dignity of a prince. Precision was the talent of Tiberius; and if his meaning was sometimes obscure, it was when he chose to be dark and impenetrable. The confused and turbulent genius of Caligula did not transfuse itself into his discourse. Even in Claudius, when he came with a speech prepared and studied, there was no want of elegance. Nero, in the prime of life, took a different turn, and, with lively parts, applied himself to other objects. Engraving (*a*), painting, music, and horsemanship were his favourite pursuits. At intervals he was fond of poetry, and his verses shewed that he had, at least, a tincture of letters.

IV. HAVING played the part of a public mourner, Nero made his appearance in the senate. He began with a florid compliment to the authority of the fathers, and the concurrent suffrages of the army, which raised him to the imperial dignity. He added, “ that he had many bright examples to excite emulation, and in his councils superior wisdom to direct his conduct. His youth had not been engaged in civil commotions, and to the rage of contending factions he was, by consequence, an utter stranger. He brought with him no private animosity, no sense of injuries, no motives to inspire revenge. He explained the system of government, which he intended to pursue ;

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

807.

A. D.

54.

“ pursue ; the abuses which occasioned discontent and murmur-
 “ ings in the former reign, were to be reformed altogether ; and,
 “ in particular, the decision of causes, he was determined, should
 “ no longer depend on the authority of the prince. The
 “ practice of hearing in a chamber of the palace (*a*) the accuser
 “ and the accused, and thereby subjecting the lives and fortunes
 “ of men to the influence of a few favourites, was to be abo-
 “ lished. In his palace nothing should be venal ; nothing car-
 “ ried by intrigue, by bribery, or secret influence. The revenues
 “ of the prince, and the public treasure, should be distinct and
 “ separate rights. The senate might retain the full exercise of
 “ the powers vested in that assembly by the spirit of the con-
 “ stitution. Italy and the provinces might, in all cases, address
 “ themselves to the tribunal of the consuls, and, through that
 “ channel, find their way to the senate. The executive power
 “ over the army was his peculiar province, and he claimed no
 “ more (*b*).”

V. THE promise was fair, and for some time regularly ob-
 served. The fathers of their own authority made several regu-
 lations, and among other things ordained, that no advocate
 should hire out his talents in any cause whatever. The law re-
 quiring (*a*) a spectacle of gladiators from such as were chosen to
 the office of quæstor, was entirely abrogated. To these resolutions,
 tending, in effect, to repeal the acts of Claudius, Agrippina
 made a strong opposition. In order to carry her point, she
 caused the senate to be convened in the palace, where, at a con-
 venient station at the door behind the arras, she might conceal
 her person, and overhear the debate. The fathers acted with
 a spirit of independance, and a decree was passed accordingly.
 On a subsequent occasion the ambassadors of Armenia were ad-
 mitted to an audience before the prince. Agrippina advanced

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

to the tribunal to take her seat, and preside with joint authority. All who beheld the scene were struck with terror and amazement, when Seneca, in the general confusion, had the presence of mind to bid the emperor step forward to meet his mother. Under an appearance of filial piety, the honour of the state was saved.

VI. TOWARDS the end of the year, a report prevailed that the Parthians had once more invaded Armenia, and that Rhadamistus, tired of a kingdom so often taken and retaken, declined to end the dispute by force of arms. At Rome, where public affairs were discussed with freedom, the popular opinion was, “that Nero, young in life, just out of his seventeenth
“year, would not be equal to a conjuncture so arduous and im-
“portant. What dependance could be had on the flexibility
“of a boy, still under the government of his mother? He had
“tutors, indeed; but would they undertake the command of
“armies, the conduct of sieges, and all the various operations
“of war?” It was argued on the other hand, “that the situa-
“tion of affairs was better than it could have been under a
“prince like Claudius, worn out with age; and sunk in sloth,
“the willing dupe of his favourite freedmen. Burrhus and
“Seneca were men of experience: and, with such advisers, why
“conclude that Nero, bordering on the season of manly vigour,
“was unequal to the task? Pompey, at the age of eighteen, and
“Octavianus Cæsar, having barely passed his nineteenth year, were
“both at the head of armies, in times big with danger, amidst
“the distractions of a civil war. It is by the wisdom of their
“councils, and not by personal valour, that princes are crowned
“with glory. Whether the cabinet of Nero was filled with evil
“counsellors, or with men of talents and integrity, would soon
“be evident. If the emperor, without regarding party con-
“nections

“nections and court intrigue, chose a general, not on account
“of his wealth and interest, but for his military character, the
“question would be then fairly decided.”

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

VII. WHILE these different opinions kept the public mind in agitation, Nero ordered levies to be made in the eastern nations, and the legions, thus recruited, to take post on the confines of Armenia. He desired, at the same time, that Agrippa (*a*) and Antiochus, two oriental kings, should hold their forces in readiness to enter the territory of the Parthians. For the convenience of his armies bridges were thrown over the Euphrates. The lesser Armenia (*b*) was committed to Aristobulus, and the country called Sophenes (*c*) to Sohemus: both princes were allowed to assume the ensigns of royalty. In this crisis a fortunate circumstance gave a sudden turn in favour of Rome. Vardanes, the son of Vologeses, became a competitor for the crown in opposition to his father. The Parthians were, by consequence, obliged to recall their armies, and under colour of deferring, not of abandoning the war, Armenia was evacuated.

VIII. THE fathers extolled these transactions with their usual strain of flattery. They voted that prayers and public thanksgivings should be offered to the gods, and that during the solemnity Nero, adorned with a triumphal robe, should enter the city with all the splendour of an ovation. It was farther resolved, that in the temple of Mars the Avenger a statue should be erected to the prince, in form and dimension equal to that of the god. Amidst this servile adulation, the appointment of Domitius Corbulo to the command of the army in Armenia, gave universal satisfaction. The road to preferment, men began to hope, would, from that time, be open to talents and superior merit. By the arrangement which was settled

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

in the east, part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were stationed in Syria, under the command of Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of that province. An equal number of legionary soldiers and allies, besides the cohorts and light troops that wintered in Cappadocia, were assigned to Corbulo. The kings in alliance with Rome had directions to co-operate with those generals, as the events of war should happen to require. Corbulo was high in favour with the princes of the east. Aware that fame, in the beginning of all military operations, makes a deep impression, that general advanced by rapid journeys, and at *Ægea* (*a*), a city of Cilicia, met Quadratus, who chose an interview at that place, rather than wait till Corbulo shewed himself at the head of his army in the province of Syria, where he had reason to fear that the eyes of the people would be fixed on his rival in command. The fact was, Corbulo possessed many advantages: in his person manly, of a remarkable stature, and in his discourse magnificent, he united with experience and consummate wisdom those exterior accomplishments, which, though in themselves of no real value, give an air of elegance even to trifles.

IX. THE two commanders sent a joint message to Vologeses, warning him to prefer the sweets of peace to the calamities of war, and, by sending hostages, to mark his respect for the Roman name. The Parthian monarch, intending to wait for a more favourable opportunity, or, perhaps, wishing to remove from his court his most dangerous enemies, gave up as hostages the most distinguished of the line of the Arsacides. Histerius, a centurion, sent by Quadratus with orders to travel with expedition, received the hostages under his care; but Corbulo, apprised of this artful project, dispatched Arrius Varus, the commander of a cohort, to claim the care and custody of the Parthian

thian nobles. The centurion resisted. A warm dispute ensued between the two officers, till, at length, that they might not exhibit a ridiculous scene to foreign nations, the matter was referred to the decision of the hostages themselves, and the ambassadors who accompanied them. The Parthians, struck with the recent fame of the commander in chief, and, as often happens even among enemies, conceiving the highest respect for his person, gave the preference to Corbulo. Hence a new source of discord between the two generals. Quadratus complained, that the honour which he had acquired was unfairly wrested from him. Corbulo maintained his right, insisting that the idea of delivering up hostages had never occurred to Vologeses, till such time as his hopes were humbled by the name of the superior officer who had the conduct of the war. To appease their jealousy, Nero issued an order, that on account of the prosperous events achieved by the conduct of both generals, the imperial fasces under each of them should be decorated with wreaths of laurel. These transactions happened in different years; but, for the sake of perspicuity, they are here related in one connected series.

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
807.
A. D.
54.

X. IN the course of the same year, Nero desired that by a decree of the senate a statue might be erected to his father Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, and that Asconius Labeo, his former tutor, might be honoured with the consular ornaments. The senate proposed, that statues of solid gold or silver should be erected in honour of the prince; but Nero had the modesty to reject the offer. A law was also in agitation, by which the year was to begin from December, the month in which Nero was born. This too was over-ruled. The emperor resolved to continue the old style, dating the year from the calends of January; a day rendered sacred by the established religion of the Romans.

E O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

807.

A. D.

54.

Romans. An attempt was made to arraign Carinas Celer, a member of the senate, and Julius Densus, of the equestrian order. The first was accused by his slave; the crime objected to the latter was his attachment to Britannicus. Both prosecutions were suppressed by order of the emperor.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

XI. NERO and Lucius Antistius were the next consuls. During the solemnity of swearing the magistrates, according to custom, on the acts of the emperor, Antistius had it in command not to include in his oath the acts of the reigning prince; an instance of modesty and self-denial, which the fathers thought could not be too highly commended. They were lavish of praise, in hopes that the sense of honest fame, even in matters of little moment, implanted early in the mind of a young man, might shoot up to a principle of honour, and the love of solid glory. In a short time after, Nero distinguished himself by an act of clemency in the case of Plautius Lateranus (*a*), who, for his criminal intrigues with Messalina, had been expelled the senate. The emperor restored him to his rank. He even bound himself to observe throughout his reign the virtues of humanity. This promise he renewed in several speeches prepared for him by the pen of Seneca, and probably written to display the moral lessons which the philosopher taught, or to shew the brilliant talents of that lively writer.

XII. THE authority of Agrippina was now on the decline. An enfranchised female slave of the name of ACTE (*a*) had gained an entire ascendant over the affections of the prince. To conduct this intrigue, Nero chose Otho (*b*) and Claudius Senecio for his confidential friends; the former descended from a family of consular rank; the latter, the son of a freedman belonging to the late emperor. They were both elegant in their persons. Their

Their taste for debauchery and clandestine vices introduced them to the notice of the prince. Their first approaches to his friendship were unperceived by Agrippina: she endeavoured afterwards to remove them from his presence, but her efforts were without effect. The emperor's friends, though famed for wisdom and the severity of their manners, made no opposition to his new intrigue. A courtesan, who gratified the ardour of a young man's passion, without injury to any person whatever, was thought an object of no importance. Nero, it is true, was married to Octavia; but neither the nobility of her birth, nor her unspotted virtue, could secure his affections. By some fatality, or, perhaps, by the secret charm of forbidden pleasures, his heart was alienated from his wife. The connection with his favourite concubine served to restrain the prince from other pursuits; and there was reason to fear, that, detached from her, he might riot in scenes of higher life, and destroy the peace and honour of the noblest families.

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
808.
A. D.
55.

XIII. AGRIPPINA was fired with indignation. She complained aloud that an enfranchised slave was put in competition with the emperor's mother, and a wretch of mean extraction was to be treated as her daughter-in-law. She stormed with all the rage of female pride, never reflecting that the prince might see his error, or that satiety and cold indifference might, in time, succeed to the vehemence of youthful passion. The haughty spirit of the mother served only to inflame the ardour of her son. He gave a loose to love, and threw off all regard for his mother, determined, for the future, to yield to no authority but that of Seneca. Among the friends of that minister was a man of the name of Annæus Serenus (*a*), who pretended to admire the person of Acte, and, to throw a veil over the growing passion of Nero, conveyed to her, in his own name, the presents

L

sent

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
858.
A. D.
55.

sent by the secret gallantry of the prince. Agrippina thought it time to abate from her ferocity. She had recourse to art, and hoped by gentle methods to regain her influence. Her own apartment was now at her son's service. Love, at his time of life, was natural, and his superior rank demanded some indulgence. Under the care and management of his mother he might enjoy his secret pleasures. She apologized for the warmth with which she broke out at first, and even made an offer of all her treasure, little inferior to imperial riches. Her conduct was always in extremes; violent in the beginning, and in the end too complying.

A transition so sudden did not escape the observation of Nero. His confidential friends were alarmed. Dreading nothing so much as the return of Agrippina's influence, they cautioned the prince not to be the dupe of a woman, who, in reality, abated nothing from the pride and arrogance of her character, though now she played an humble, but insidious part. It happened at this time that Nero examined a rich wardrobe, appropriated to the use of the mothers and wives of the emperors. He selected a splendid dress and a considerable quantity of jewels. These he ordered to be presented to Agrippina. The things were gay and magnificent, the kind of ornaments that please the taste and vanity of women, and, being unasked and unexpected, they were sent with a better grace. Agrippina construed this civility into an affront. The design, she said, was not to adorn her person, but to deprive her of the rest of those valuable effects. Her son affected to divide with his mother what he owed entirely to her protection. Her words were reported to the emperor with additional malice.

XIV. In order, by a sudden blow, to humble Agrippina and her

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

her party, Nero dismissed Pallas (*a*) from all his employments. By the favour of Claudius this man had been raised to a degree of power that made him assume the air and importance of first minister, and sovereign arbiter of the empire. As he withdrew from court with his train of followers, Nero pleasantly said, "Pallas is going to abdicate." Before he retired, it is certain that he had bargained for himself. It was agreed that no inquiry should be had into his conduct, and that all accounts between him and the public should be considered as closed and balanced. The indignation of Agrippina was not to be restrained: in a tone of menace she endeavoured to intimidate her enemies; even in the emperor's hearing, she exclaimed aloud, "Britannicus is grown up, the genuine issue of Claudius, and every way worthy of the succession to his father. The sovereignty has been wrested from him by an intruder, who owes his title to adoption only, and now presumes to trample on the rights of a mother, who gave him all. But every thing shall be brought to light: the misfortunes which she herself had caused in the imperial family, her incestuous marriage with her uncle, and the poison that put an end to his life; all shall be disclosed, all laid open to the world. By the favour of the gods Britannicus is still alive: that resource still remains. With that young prince she would join the army: in the camp should be heard the daughter of Germanicus; Burrhus, and Seneca, the famous exile, might present themselves before the prætorian soldiers; the first with his maimed hand, and the second, armed with his tropes and flowers of rhetoric; both worthy ministers, fit, in their own opinion, to govern the Roman world." In this strain she raved with vehemence, brandishing her hands, and pouring out a torrent of invective. She appealed to the deified Claudius; she invoked the manes of the murdered Silani, and of others who perished by her

BOOK
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

guilt, though now, in return for all, she met with nothing but treachery and ingratitude.

XV. THESE violent declarations made a deep impression on the mind of Nero. The birth-day of Britannicus, when that prince was to enter on his fifteenth year, was near at hand. This gave rise to a number of reflections. The turbulent spirit of Agrippina, and the character of the prince, filled him with apprehensions. On a late occasion Britannicus had given a specimen of early acuteness, slight, indeed, in itself, but such as disposed the people in his favour. It happened, during the Saturnalian festival (*a*), that, among the diversions usual among young people, the play, "WHO SHALL BE KING (*b*)", became part of the amusement at court. The lot fell to Nero: he imposed his commands on the company, in no instance aiming at ridicule or inconvenience, till he came to Britannicus. He ordered the young prince to stand in the middle of the room, and sing a song to the company. By this device he hoped that a stripling, not yet accustomed even to sober conversation, much less to revelry and the joys of wine, would be exposed to derision. Britannicus performed his part without embarrassment. His song (*c*) alluded to his own case, expressing the situation of a prince excluded from the throne of his ancestors. The whole company felt a touch of compassion, and, in the moment of gaiety, when wine and the midnight hour had thrown off all dissimulation, they expressed their feelings without disguise. Nero found that his pleasantries recoiled upon himself. Hatred, from that moment, took possession of his heart. The furious and implacable spirit of Agrippina kept him in a constant alarm. No crime could be alleged against Britannicus, and, by consequence, there was no colour to justify a public execution.

Nero resolved to act by covert stratagem. A preparation of
poison

poison was ordered, and Julius Pollio, a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, was called in as an accomplice. This man had in his custody the famous Locusta, a woman guilty of various crimes, and then under sentence for the practice of administering poison. She was made an instrument in the conspiracy. For some time before, care had been taken to admit none to the presence of Britannicus, but such as had long since renounced every principle of honour and of virtue. The first potion was given to Britannicus by his tutors; but being weak, or injudiciously qualified, it passed without effect. The slow progress of guilt did not suit the genius of Nero. He threatened the tribune, and was on the point of ordering the forcerefs to be put to death. He railed at both as two cowards in vice, who wished to save appearances, and concert a defence for themselves, while they left a dreadful interval, big with fear and danger. To appease his wrath, they promised to prepare a dose as sure and deadly as the assassin's knife. In a room adjoining to the apartment of the emperor they mixed a draught, compounded of ingredients, whose sure and rapid quality they had already experienced.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

XVI. ACCORDING to the custom at that time established at court, the children of the imperial family dined, in a sitting posture, with the nobility of their own age, in sight of their relations, at a table set apart, and served with due frugality. Whenever Britannicus was, in this manner, seated at his meal, it was a settled rule that an attendant should taste his food and liquor. To preserve this custom, and prevent detection by the death of both, an innocent beverage, without any infusion that could hurt, was tried by the proper officer, and presented to the prince. He found it too hot, and returned it. Cold water, in which the poison had been mixed, was immediately poured into

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

the cup. Britannicus drank freely; the effect was violent, and, in an instant, it seized the powers of life: his limbs were palsied, his breath was suppressed, and his utterance failed. The company were thrown into consternation. Some rushed out of the room, while others, who had more discernment, staid, but in astonishment, with their eyes fixed on Nero, who lay stretched at ease on his couch, with an air of innocence, and without emotion. He contented himself with calmly saying, “ This is “ one of the epileptic fits to which Britannicus has been subject “ from his infancy. The disorder will go off, and he will soon “ recover his senses.” Agrippina was struck with horror. She endeavoured to suppress her feelings; but the inward emotions were too strong; they spoke in every feature, plainly shewing that she was as innocent as Octavia, the sister of Britannicus. By this horrible act the emperor’s mother saw all her hopes at once cut off, and from so daring a step, she could even then foresee that her son would wade in blood, and add to his crimes the horror of parricide. Octavia, though still of tender years, had seen enough of courts to teach her the policy of smothering her grief, her tenderness, and every sentiment of the heart. In this manner the scene of distraction ended, and the pleasures of the table were renewed.

XVII. ONE and the same night saw the murder of Britannicus and his funeral. Both were preconcerted. Without expence, or any kind of pomp, the prince’s remains were interred in the Field of Mars, under a shower of rain, which fell with such violence, that it passed with the multitude as the sure forerunner of divine vengeance on the authors of so foul a deed; a deed, notwithstanding all its horrors, which many were inclined to think of with less severity, when they considered that, from the earliest times, a spirit of jealousy always subsisted be-

tween brothers, and that the nature of sovereign power is such, as not to endure a rival. From the writers of that period there is reason to conclude, that Nero, on various occasions, had taken advantage of the tender years of Britannicus, and offered vile indignities to his person. If the anecdote be founded in truth, the death, which delivered a descendant of the Claudian line from foul disgrace, cannot be deemed premature or cruel. The prince, it is true, died in the hour of hospitality, without warning, without time allowed to his sister to take the last farewell; and his mortal enemy saw him in the pangs of death. After all his sufferings, the poisoned cup was mercy. The hurry with which the funeral was performed, was justified by Nero in a proclamation, stating the practice of the ancient Romans, who ordained with wisdom, “That the bodies of such as died in the “prime of life should, as soon as possible, be removed from “the public eye, without waiting for funeral orations, and the “slow parade of pomp and ceremony. For himself, deprived as “he was of the assistance of a brother, he depended altogether “on the affections of the people, in full persuasion, that the senate, and all orders of men, would exert their best endeavours “to support a prince, who now remained the only branch of a “family born to rule the empire of the world.” After this public declaration, his next care was, by large donations, to secure in his interest all his most powerful friends.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

8c8.

A. D.

55.

XVIII. THE conduct of such as were most distinguished by the munificence of the emperor, did not pass uncensured. They were men who professed integrity, and yet did not blush to take palaces (*a*), country-seats, and extensive lands, all equally willing to have share of the plunder. By their apologists it was argued, that they could not avoid submitting to the will of a prince, who knew the horror of his crimes, and hoped by his liberality to

BOOK
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

to soften the public resentment. Agrippina continued implacable. Indignation like hers was not to be appeased by presents. She cherished Octavia with the tenderest regard; she had frequent meetings with the leaders of her party; and, with more than her natural avarice, she collected money in all quarters; she courted the tribunes and centurions; and to the thin nobility, which then remained, she paid every mark of respect, dwelling with pleasure on their names, applauding their virtues, with a view to strengthen her interest by a coalition of the first men in Rome. Nero was apprised of all that passed. By his orders the sentinels who guarded her gates (as had been done in the time of Claudius, and since his decease) were all withdrawn. The German soldiers, who had been added by way of doing honour to the emperor's mother, were likewise dismissed from her service. Nor did the matter rest here. To retrench the number of her adherents and visitors, Nero resolved to hold a separate court. He assigned to his mother the mansion formerly occupied by Antonia. He visited her in her new situation, but his visits were a state farce: he went with a train of attendants, and, after a short salute, took his leave with cold civility.

XIX. IN the mass of human affairs there is nothing so vain and transitory as the fancied pre-eminence which depends on popular opinion, without a solid foundation to support it. Of this truth Agrippina is a melancholy proof. Her house was deserted; no friend to comfort her; no courtier to flutter at her levee; and none to visit her, except a few women who frequented her house, perhaps with a good intention, or, more probably, with the little motives of female triumph. In the number was Junia Silana, formerly divorced, as has been mentioned, from Caius Silius, at the instigation of Messalina. Since that time, she became the intimate friend of Agrippina; by her birth illustrious,

illustrious, distinguished by her beauty, and not less so by her lascivious conduct. Her friendship for Agrippina, soured afterwards by contentions between themselves, turned to bitter hatred. A treaty of marriage between Silana and Sextius Africanus, a citizen of illustrious rank, was rendered abortive by the ill offices of Agrippina. She told the lover, that his mistress, though no longer in the prime of life, was of a dissolute character, and still abandoned to her vicious pleasures. In this act of hostility love had no kind of share. Agrippina had not so much as a wish for the person of Africanus; but Silana enjoyed large possessions, and being a widow without children, her whole fortune might devolve to the husband.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

Silana, from that moment, was stung with resentment. The season for revenge she thought was now arrived, and, for that purpose, she employed Iturius and Calvisius, two of her creatures, to frame an accusation against Agrippina, not on the ground of the old and threadbare story about her grief for Britannicus, and her zeal for Octavia; but with a deeper intent, that revenge might have its full blow. The head of the accusation was, That Agrippina had conspired with Rubellius Plautus, a descendant of Augustus, by the maternal line in the same degree as Nero, to bring about a revolution, and, in that event, to marry the usurper, and once more invade the commonwealth. With this charge, drawn up in form, Iturius and Calvisius sought Atimetus, one of the freedmen of Domitia, the emperor's aunt. A fitter person could not be chosen: he knew the enmity that subsisted between his mistress and Agrippina, and, for that reason, listened eagerly to the information. Having heard the particulars, he employed Paris the comedian (who had likewise received his freedom from Domitia), and, by him, conveyed the whisper to the emperor, with circumstances of aggravation.

XX. THE

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

XX. THE night was far advanced, and Nero passed the time in riot and gay carousal, when Paris entered the apartment. In the prince's parties he had always been a pimp of pleasure; but now, a messenger of ill news, he appeared with an air of dejection. He laid open the particulars of the charge. Nero heard him with dismay and terror. In the first agitations of his mind he resolved to dispatch his mother, and Plautus, her accomplice. Burrhus was no longer to command the prætorian bands: he was the creature of Agrippina, raised at first by her influence, and in his heart a secret friend to her and her interest. If we may credit Fabius Rusticus, a commission was actually made out, and sent to Cæcina Tuscus; but recalled, at the request of Seneca, who interposed to save his friend from disgrace. According to Cluvius and Pliny, the honour of Burrhus was never called in question. To say the truth, the authority of Fabius Rusticus is not free from suspicion. He flourished under the protection of Seneca, and the gratitude of the writer embraces every opportunity to adorn the character of his patron.

The historical evidence is fairly before the reader, agreeably to the design of this work, which professes to depend, at all times, on the testimony of authors, when they agree among themselves; and, when they differ, to state the points in dispute, with the reasons on each side. Nero was distracted with doubt and fear. In the tumult of his thoughts, he determined to dispatch his mother without delay. Nor was his fury to be restrained till Burrhus pledged himself, if the charge was verified, to see execution done upon her; but to be heard in answer to the accusation, he said, was the right of the meanest person, much more so of a mother. In the present case, no charge was made in form; no prosecutor appeared; the whole was nothing but the whisper of a busy tale-bearer, who brought intelligence from
the

the house of an enemy; but the time chosen for the discovery makes the whole improbable. Paris the informer came in the dead of night; and after many hours spent in carousing, what can be expected, but confusion, ignorance, and fatal temerity?

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

808.

A. D.

55.

XXI. NERO was pacified by this reasoning. At the dawn of day, proper persons were sent to Agrippina, to inform her of the allegations against her, and to hear her defence. The commission was executed by Burrhus in the presence of Seneca, and a number of freedmen, who were sent to watch the whole proceeding. Burrhus stated the charge; he named the informers, and, in a tone of severity, enforced every circumstance. Agrippina heard him undismayed, and, with the pride and spirit of her character, replied as follows: "That Silana, who has never known the labours of child-bed, should be a stranger to the affections of a mother, cannot be matter of surprise. A woman of profligate manners may change her adulterers, but a mother cannot renounce her children. If Iturius and Calvisius, two bankrupts in fame as well as fortune, have sold themselves to an old woman, is it of course that I must be guilty of a crime which they have fabricated? And must my son, at the instigation of two such miscreants, commit a parricide? Let Domitia shew her kindness to my son; let her vie with tenderness like mine, and I will forgive her malice; I will even thank her for it. But she is in league with Atimetus, who is known to be her paramour: Paris, the stage-player, lends his aid: the talents that figured in the theatre, he hopes, will be able to plan a real tragedy.

"At the time when my cares were busy to make Nero the adopted son of Claudius; to invest him with proconsular dignity, and declare him consul elect; when I was labouring to open

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
808.
A. D.
55.

“to my son the road to empire, where was Domitia then? Her
 “ponds and lakes at Baiæ engrossed all her attention. Stand
 “forth the man, who can prove that I tampered with the city-
 “guards; that I seduced the provinces from their allegiance, or
 “endeavoured to corrupt the slaves and freedmen of the em-
 “peror. Had Britannicus obtained the imperial dignity, could
 “I have hoped to live in safety? And if Rubellius Plautus, or
 “any other person, had seized the reins of government, can
 “it be supposed that my enemies would not have seized their op-
 “portunity to exhibit their charge, not for intemperate words,
 “thrown out in the warmth of passion, the effusion of a mo-
 “ther’s jealousy, but for real crimes, and those of so deep a dye,
 “that no man can forgive them, except a son, for whom they
 “were committed.” Such was the language of Agrippina. The
 warmth and energy with which she delivered herself, made an im-
 pression on all who heard her. They endeavoured to soften af-
 fliction, and mitigate the violence of her feelings. She demanded
 an interview with her son, and the meeting was granted. In his
 presence she scorned to enter into a vindication of herself. To
 answer the charge might betray too much diffidence: nor did
 she dwell on the services which she had rendered to her son; that
 were to tax him with ingratitude. Her object was to punish her
 accusers, and reward her friends. She succeeded in both.

XXII. THE superintendence of corn and grain was granted to
 Fænius Rufus. The public spectacles, then intended by the em-
 peror, were committed to the care of Arruntius Stella. The
 province of Ægypt was assigned to Caius Balbillus (*a*), and that
 of Syria to Publius Anteius. But the last was the bubble of
 promises, and never suffered to proceed to his government. Silana
 was sent into exile. Calvisius and Iturius (*b*) shared the same
 fate. Atimetus was punished with death. Paris, the comedian,

was

was of too much consequence: he had the art of ministering to the pleasures of the prince: his vices saved him. Rubellius Plautus was, for the present, passed by in silence.

B O O K
XIII.
A. U. C.
808.
A. D.
55.

XXIII. SOON after this transaction, Pallas and Burrhus were charged with a conspiracy to raise Cornelius Sylla to the imperial seat, in consideration of his illustrious birth, and the affinity which he bore to Claudius, being, by his marriage with Antonia, the son-in-law of that emperor. In this business, a man of the name of Pætus was the prosecutor; a busy pragmatistical fellow, notorious for harassing his fellow-citizens with confiscations to the treasury, and on the present occasion a manifest impostor. To find Pallas innocent would not have been unpleasant to the fathers, if the arrogance of the man had not given disgust to all. In the course of the trial, some of his freedmen being mentioned as accomplices in the plot, he thought proper to answer, "That among his domestics he never condescended to speak: he signified his pleasure by a nod, or a motion of his hand. If the business required special directions, he committed his mind to paper, unwilling to mix in discourse with people so much beneath his notice." Burrhus, though involved in the prosecution, took his seat on the bench with the judges, and pronounced his opinion. Pætus was condemned to banishment, and all his papers, which he preserved as documents to be used in the revival of treasury-suits, were committed to the flames.

XXIV. TOWARDS the close of the year, the custom of having a cohort on duty, at the exhibition of the public spectacles, was entirely laid aside. By this measure the people were amused with a shew of liberty; and the soldiers, being thus removed from the licentiousness of the theatre, were no longer in danger of tainting the discipline of the army with the vices of the city.

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
803.
A. D.
55.

From this experiment it was to be further seen, whether the populace, freed from the control of the military, would be observant of decency and good order. The temples of Jupiter and Minerva being struck with lightning, the emperor, by the advice of the soothsayers, ordered a solemn lustration to purify the city.

A. U. C.
809.
A. D.
56.

XXV. THE consulship of Quintus Volusius and Publius Scipio was remarkable for the tranquillity that prevailed in all parts of the empire, and the corruption of manners that disgraced the city of Rome. Of all the worst enormities Nero was the author. In the garb of a slave, he roved through the streets, visited the brothels, and rambled through all by-places, attended by a band of rioters, who seized the wares and merchandize exposed to sale, and offered violence to all that fell in their way. In these frolics, Nero was so little suspected to be a party, that he was roughly handled in several frays. He received wounds on some occasions, and his face was disfigured with a scar. It was not long, however, before it transpired that the emperor was become a night-brawler. The mischief from that moment grew more alarming. Men of rank were insulted, and women of the first condition suffered gross indignities. The example of the prince brought midnight riots into fashion. Private persons took their opportunity, with a band of loose companions, to annoy the public streets. Every quarter was filled with tumult and disorder, insomuch that Rome, at night, resembled a city taken by storm. In one of these wild adventures, Julius Montanus, of senatorian rank, but not yet advanced to the magistracy, happened to encounter the emperor and his party. Being attacked with force, he made a resolute defence; and finding, afterwards, that Nero was the person whom he discomfited in the fray, he endeavoured to soften resentment by apologies for his behaviour: but the

excuse

excuse was considered as a reflection on the prince, and Montanus was compelled to die.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

809.

A. D.

56.

Nero persisted in this course of debauchery, and, for the safety of his person, took with him a party of soldiers, and a gang of gladiators. These men, in flight and accidental skirmishes, kept aloof from the fray; but if warm and active spirits made a stout resistance, they became parties in the quarrel, and cut their way sword in hand. The theatre, at the same time, was a scene of uproar and violent contention. The partisans of the players waged a kind of civil war. Nero encouraged them, not only with impunity, but with ample rewards. He was often a secret spectator of the tumult; and, at length, did not blush to appear in the face of the public. These disturbances were so frequent, that, from a people divided into factions, there was reason to apprehend some dreadful convulsion: the only remedy left, was to banish the players out of Italy, and once more make the soldiers mount guard at the theatre.

XXVI. ABOUT this time, the enfranchised slaves, by the insolence of their behaviour to the patrons who had given them their freedom, provoked a debate in the senate. It was proposed to pass a law, empowering the patron to reclaim his right over such as made an improper use of their liberty. The fathers were willing to adopt the measure, but the consuls did not choose to put the question before due notice was given to the emperor. They reported the case, and the substance of the debate, requesting to know whether the prince would, of his own authority, enact a law that had but few to oppose it. In support of the motion, it had been argued, that the freedmen were leagued in a faction against their patrons, and had the insolence to think them answerable for their conduct in the senate. They went so far as to

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
809.
A. D.
56.

to threaten violence to their persons ; they raised their hands against their benefactors, and, with audacious contumacy, presumed to hinder them from seeking redress in due course of law. The patron, it is true, has peculiar privileges : but in what do they consist ? In the empty power of banishing the freedman, who proves unworthy of the favour bestowed upon him, to the distance of twenty miles from Rome ; that is, to send him, by way of punishment, to the delightful plains of Campania. In every other point of view, the freedman is on a level with the highest citizen. He enjoys equal privileges. It were, therefore, a prudent measure to arm the patron with coercive authority, effectual for the purpose, and of force not to be eluded. The manumitted slave should “ be taught to prolong the enjoyment of his liberty “ by the same behaviour that obtained it at first. Nor could “ this be deemed an oppressive law ; since, as often as the freed- “ men shewed no sense of duty or subordination, to reduce them “ to their primitive servitude, would be the soundest policy. “ When gratitude has no effect, coercion is the proper remedy.”

XXVII. IN answer to this reasoning, it was contended by the opposite party, “ That, in all cases of partial mischief, punishment “ should fall on the guilty only. For the delinquency of a few, “ the rights of all ought not to be taken away. The freedmen “ were a large and numerous body. From them the number of “ the tribes was completed, the magistrates were supplied with “ inferior officers, the sacerdotal orders with assistants, and the “ prætorian cohorts with recruits. Many of the Roman knights, “ and even the senators had no other origin. Deduct the men “ whose fathers were enfranchised, and the number of freeborn “ citizens will dwindle into nothing. When the ranks of so- “ ciety were established at Rome, it was the wisdom of the old “ republic to make liberty the common right of all, not the pre- “ rogative

“rogative of a few. The power of conferring freedom was also
 “regulated, and two different modes (*a*) were established, to the
 “end that the patron, if he saw reason for it, might either revoke
 “his grant, or confirm it by additional bounty. The man en-
 “franchised, without proper ceremonies before the prætor, was
 “liable to be claimed again by his master. But it is the business
 “of the patron to consider well the character of his slave; till
 “he knows the merit of the man, let him withhold his generosity;
 “but when freedom is fairly bestowed, there ought to be no
 “resumption of the grant.” To this last opinion Nero acceded.
 He signified his pleasure to the senate, that, in all causes be-
 tween the patron and his freedman, they should decide on the
 particular circumstances of the case, without derogating from the
 rights of the body at large. Soon after this regulation, Paris,
 who had received his freedom from Domitia, the emperor’s
 aunt, was removed from her domestic train, and declared to be
 a freeborn citizen (*b*). The colour of law was given to this pro-
 ceeding; but the judgment was known to be dictated by the
 prince, and the infamy, therefore, was all his own.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

809.

A. D.

56.

XXVIII. THERE remained, notwithstanding, even at this
 juncture, an image of ancient liberty. A proof of this occurred
 in a contest that took place between Vibullius, the prætor, and
 Antistius, tribune of the people. Certain partisans of the players
 had been, for their tumultuous behaviour, committed to jail by
 the prætor. The tribune interposed his authority, and released
 the prisoners. This conduct was condemned by the senate, as
 extrajudicial and illegal. A decree passed, ordaining that the
 tribunes should not presume to counteract the jurisdiction of the
 prætor, or the consuls; nor to summon to their own tribunal
 men, who resided in different parts of Italy, and were amenable
 to the municipal laws of the colony. It was further settled, on
 the

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
809.
A. D.
56.

the motion of Lucius Piso, consul elect, that it should not be competent to the tribunes to sit in judgment at their own houses ; and that the fines, imposed by their authority, should not be entered by the quæstor in the registers of the treasury, before the end of four months from the day of the sentence, that, in the mean time, the party aggrieved might have the benefit of an appeal to the consuls. The jurisdiction of the ædiles, patrician as well as plebeian, was defined and limited ; the sureties which they might demand were stated with precision ; and the penalties to be imposed by their authority were reduced to a certain sum. In consequence of these regulations, Helvidius Priscus, tribune of the people, seized the opportunity to proceed against Obultronus Sabinus, a quæstor of the treasury. He charged him with harassing the poor with unreasonable confiscations, and unmercifully seizing their effects to be sold by auction. To redress the grievance, Nero removed the register out of the hands of the quæstor, and left that business to the care of præfects commissioned for the purpose.

XXIX. IN this department of the treasury various changes had been made, but no settled form (*a*) was established. In the reign of Augustus, the præfects of the treasury were chosen by the senate ; but there being reason to suspect that intrigue and private views had too much influence, those officers were drawn by lot out of the list of the prætors. This mode was soon found to be defective. Chance decided, and too often wandered to men unqualified for the employment. Claudius restored the quæstors, and, to encourage them to act with vigour, promised to place them above the necessity of soliciting the suffrages of the people, and, by his own authority, to raise them to the higher magistracies. But the quæstorship being the first civil office that men could undertake, maturity of understanding was not to be expected. Nero, for

for that reason, chose from the prætorian rank, a set of new commissioners of known experience and tried ability.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

809.

A. D.

56.

XXX. DURING the same consulship, Vipfanius Lænas was found guilty of rapacity in his government of Sardinia. Cestius Proculus was prosecuted for extortion; but his accusers giving up the point, he was acquitted. Clodius Quirinalis, who had the command of the fleet at Ravenna, and by his profligate manners and various vices harassed the people in that part of Italy, with a degree of insolence not to be endured by the most abject nation, was brought to his trial on a charge of rapine and oppression. To prevent the final sentence, he dispatched himself by poison. About the same time, Caninius Rebilus, a man distinguished by his knowledge of the laws, and his ample riches, determined to deliver himself from the miseries of old age and a broken constitution. He opened a vein, and bled to death. The event was matter of surprise to all. The fortitude, that could voluntarily rush on death, was not expected from a man softened by voluptuous enjoyments, and infamous for his effeminate manners. Lucius Volusius, who died in the same year, left a very different character. He had lived, in splendid affluence, to the age of ninety-three, esteemed for the honest arts by which he acquired immense wealth, under a succession of despotic emperors, yet never exposed to danger. He found the art of being rich and virtuous with impunity.

XXXI. NERO, with Lucius Piso for his colleague, entered on his second consulship. In this year we look in vain for transactions worthy of the historian's pen. The vast foundation of a new amphitheatre (*a*), built by Nero in the Field of Mars, and the massy timbers employed in that magnificent structure, might swell a volume; but descriptions of that kind may be left to grace

A. U. C.

810.

A. D.

57.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

810.

A. D.

57.

the pages of a city-journal. The dignity of the Roman people requires that these annals should not descend to a detail so minute and uninteresting. It will be proper to mention here, that Capua and Nuceria, two Roman colonies, were augmented by a body of veterans transplanted to those places. A largess of two hundred small sesterces to each man was distributed to the populace, and, to support the credit of the state, the sum of four hundred thousand great sesterces was deposited in the treasury. The twenty-fifth penny (*b*), imposed as a tax on the purchase of slaves, was remitted, with an appearance of moderation, but, in fact, without any solid advantage to the public. The payment of the duty was only shifted to the vendor, and he, to indemnify himself, raised his price on the purchaser. The emperor issued a proclamation forbidding the magistrates and imperial procurators to exhibit, in any of the provinces, a show of gladiators, wild beasts, or any other public spectacle. The practice of amusing the people with grand exhibitions had been as fore a grievance as even the grasping hand of avarice. The governors plundered the people, and by displays of magnificence hoped to disguise, or, in some degree, to make atonement for their crimes.

XXXII. A DECREE passed the senate to protect, by additional terrors of law, the life of the patron from the malice of his slaves. With this view, it was enacted, that, in the case of a master slain by his domestics, execution should be done, not only on such as remained in a state of actual servitude, but likewise on all, who, by the will of the deceased, obtained their freedom, but continued to live under his roof at the time when the murder was committed. Lucius Varius, who had been degraded for rapacious avarice, was restored to his consular rank, and his seat in the senate. Pomponia Græcina, a woman of illustrious birth, and

the

the wife of Plautius (*a*), who, on his return from Britain, entered the city with the pomp of an ovation, was accused of embracing the rites of a foreign superstition (*b*). The matter was referred to the jurisdiction of her husband. Plautius, in conformity to ancient usage, called together a number of her relations, and, in their presence, sat in judgment on the conduct of his wife. He pronounced her innocent. She lived to a great age, in one continued train of affliction. From the time when Julia, the daughter of Drusus, was brought to a tragical end by the wicked arts of Messalina (*c*), she never laid aside her mourning weeds, but pined in grief during a space of forty years, inconsolable for the loss of her friend. During the reign of Claudius nothing could alleviate her sorrow, nor was her perseverance imputed to her as a crime: in the end, it was the glory of her character.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

810.

A. D.

57.

XXXIII. THIS year produced a number of criminal accusations. Publius Celer was prosecuted by the province of Asia. The weight of evidence pressed so hard, that Nero, unable to acquit him, drew the cause into a tedious length. During that state of suspense, the criminal died of old age. Celer, the reader will remember, was an instrument in the murder of Silanus (*a*), the proconsul. The magnitude of his guilt on that occasion so far surpassed the rest of his flagitious deeds, that nothing else was deemed worthy of notice. The enormity of one atrocious crime screened him from punishment.

The Cilicians demanded justice against Cossutianus Capito, a man of an abandoned character, who at Rome had set the laws at defiance, and thought, that, with equal impunity, he might commit the same excesses in the government of his province.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
810.
A. D.
57.

The prosecution was carried on with such unremitting vigour, that he abandoned his defence. He was condemned to make restitution. A suit of the same nature was commenced against Eprius Marcellus by the people of Lycia, but with different success. A powerful faction combined to support him. The consequence was, that some of the prosecutors were banished for a conspiracy against an innocent man.

A. U. C.
811.
A. D.
58.

XXXIV. NERO entered on his third consulship, having for his colleague Valerius Messala, the great grandson of Corvinus Messala (*a*), the celebrated orator, who, in the memory of a few surviving old men, had been associated in the consulship with Augustus, the great grandfather of Nero's mother, Agrippina. The prince granted to his colleague an annual pension of fifteen hundred thousand sesterces, and with that income Messala, who had fallen into blameless poverty, was able to support the dignity of his rank and character. Yearly stipends were also granted to Aurelius Cotta, and Haterius Antoninus, though they were both, by dissipation, the authors of their own distress.

In the beginning of this year, the war between the Romans and the Parthians, hitherto slow in its operations, grew warm and active on both sides. The possession of Armenia was the point still in dispute. Vologeses saw with indignation the crown, which he had settled on his brother Tiridates, withheld by force, and, to let him receive it as the gift of a foreign power, was a degree of humiliation to which his pride could not submit. On the other hand, to recover the conquests formerly made by Lucullus and Pompey, was in Corbulo's judgment worthy of the Roman name. The Armenians balanced between the powers at war, and in their turn invited each. Their natural bias inclined them to the Parthians. Neighbours by situation, congenial

nial in their manners, and by frequent intermarriages closely allied, they were willing to favour the enemies of Rome, and even inclined to submit to a Parthian master. Inured by habit to a state of servitude, they neither understood, nor wished for civil liberty.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.
811.
A. D.
58.

XXXV. CORBULO had to struggle with the slothful disposition of his army; a mischief more embarrassing than the wily arts of the enemy. The legions from Syria joined his camp, but so enervated by the languor of peace, that they could scarce support the labours of a campaign. It is certain, that there were amongst them veterans who had seen no service; who had never been on duty at a midnight post; who never mounted guard, and were such total strangers to a fosse and a palisade, that they gazed at both as at a novelty. They had served the term prescribed in garrison-towns, without helmets, and without breast-plates, spruce and trim in their attire, by profession soldiers, yet thinking of nothing but the means of enriching themselves. Having dismissed all such as were by age and infirmity rendered unfit for the service, Corbulo ordered new levies to be made in Galatia and Cappadocia. To these he added a legion from Germany, with some troops of horse, and a detachment of infantry from the cohorts. Thus reinforced, his army kept the field, though the frost was so intense, that, without digging through the ice, it was impossible to pitch their tents. By the inclemency of the season many lost the use of their limbs, and it often happened that the sentinel died on his post. The case of one soldier deserves to be mentioned. He was employed in carrying a load of wood: his hands, nipt by the frost, and cleaving to the faggot, dropt from his arms, and fell to the ground.

The general, during the severity of the weather, gave an example.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

53.

ample of strenuous exertion; he was busy in every quarter, thinly clad, his head uncovered, in the ranks, at the works, commending the brave; relieving the weak, and by his own active vigour exciting the emulation of the men. But the rigour of the season, and the hardship of the service, were more than the soldiers could endure. The army suffered by desertion. This required an immediate remedy. The practice of lenity towards the first or second offence, which often prevailed in other armies, would have been attended with dangerous consequences. He who quitted his colours suffered death as soon as taken; and this severity proved more salutary than weak compassion. The number of deserters, from that time, fell short of what happens in other camps, where too much indulgence is the practice.

XXXVI. HAVING resolved to wait the return of spring, Corbulo kept his men within their entrenchments during the rest of the winter. The auxiliary cohorts were stationed at proper posts, under the command of Pactius Orphitus, who had served as principal centurion. The orders given to this officer were, that the advanced posts should by no means hazard an engagement. Orphitus sent to inform the general, that the Barbarians spread themselves round the country with so little caution, that advantage might be taken of their imprudence. Corbulo renewed his orders, that the troops should keep within the lines, and wait for a reinforcement. Orphitus paid no regard to the command of his superior officer. A few troops of horse, from the adjacent castles, came up to join him, and, through inexperience, demanded to be led against the enemy. Orphitus risked a battle, and was totally routed. The forces posted near at hand, whose duty it was to march to the assistance of the broken ranks, fled in confusion to their entrenchments. Corbulo no sooner received intelligence of this defeat, than

than he resolved to pass the severest censure on the disobedience of his officer. He ordered him, his subalterns, and his men, to march out of the entrenchments (*a*), and there left them in disgrace, till, at the intercession of the whole army, he gave them leave to return within the lines.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

XXXVII. MEANWHILE Tiridates, at the head of his vassals and followers, with a strong reinforcement sent by his brother Vologeses, invaded Armenia, not, as before, by sudden incursions, but with open hostility. Wherever the people were in the interests of Rome, he laid waste their lands; if an armed force advanced against him, he shifted his quarters, and, by the velocity of his flight, eluded the attack. He moved with rapidity from place to place, and, by the terror of a wild and desultory war, more than by the success of his arms, kept the country in a constant alarm. Corbulo endeavoured, but without effect, to bring him to an engagement. He determined, therefore, to adopt the plan of the enemy, and, for that purpose, spread his forces round the country, under the conduct of his lieutenants and other subordinate officers. At the same time he caused a diversion to be made by Antiochus, king of Syria, in the provinces of Armenia that lay contiguous to his dominions. Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was willing, in this juncture, to co-operate with the Roman arms. He had put his son Rhadamistus to death for imputed treason, and, to make terms with Rome, while, in fact, he gratified his rooted aversion to the Armenians, he pretended to enter into the war with the zeal and ardour of a friend to the cause. The Isichians (*a*) also declared for Corbulo. That people were now, for the first time, the allies of Rome. They made incursions into the wild and desert tracts of Armenia, and by a desultory rambling war distracted the operations of the enemy.

Tiridates,

BOOK
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58

Tiridates, finding himself counteracted on every side, sent ambassadors to expostulate, as well in the name of the Parthians, as for himself. “ After hostages so lately delivered, and a renewal of friendship, that promised mutual advantages, why was his expulsion from the kingdom of Armenia the fixed, the avowed intention of the Roman army? If Vologeses was not as yet in motion with the whole strength of his kingdom, it was because he wished to prevail by the justice of his cause, and not by force of arms. If the sword must be drawn, the event would shew that the Arsacides had not forgot that warlike spirit which, on former occasions, had been fatal to the Roman name.” Corbulo heard this magnificent language; but, being informed, by sure intelligence, that the revolt of the Hyrcanians (*b*) found employment for Vologeses, he returned for answer, that the wisest measure Tiridates could pursue, would be to address himself in a suppliant style to the emperor of Rome. The kingdom of Armenia, settled on a solid basis, might be his without the effusion of blood, and the havoc of a destructive war, if to distant and chimerical hopes he preferred moderate measures and present security.

XXXVIII. FROM this time the business fell into a train of negociation. Frequent dispatches passed between both armies; but no progress being made towards a conclusive treaty, it was at length agreed that, at a fixed time and place, the two chiefs should come to an interview. Tiridates gave notice that he should bring with him a guard of a thousand horse: the number which Corbulo might choose for his own person, he did not take upon him to prescribe; all he desired was, that they should come with a pacific disposition, and advance to the congress without their breast-plates and their helmets. This stroke of eastern perfidy was not so fine, but even the dullest capacity, not to

to mention an experienced general, might perceive the latent fraud. The number limited on one side, and to the opposite party left indefinite, carried with it a specious appearance; but the lurking treachery was too apparent. The Parthian cavalry excelled in the dexterity of managing the bow and arrow; and, without defensive armour, what would be the use of superior numbers? Aware of the design, but choosing to disguise his sentiments, Corbulo calmly answered, that the business being of a public nature, the discussion of it ought to be in the presence of both armies. For the convention he appointed a place inclosed on one side by a soft acclivity of gently rising hills, where the infantry might be posted to advantage, with a vale beneath, stretching to an extent that gave ample space for the cavalry. On the stated day Corbulo advanced to the meeting, with his forces in regular order. In the wings were stationed the allies and the auxiliaries sent by the kings in friendship with Rome. The sixth legion formed the centre, strengthened by a reinforcement of three thousand men from the third legion, drafted in the night from the neighbouring camp. Being embodied under one eagle, they presented the appearance of a single legion. Towards the close of day, Tiridates occupied a distant ground, visible indeed, but never within hearing. Not being able to obtain a conference, the Roman general ordered his men to file off to their respective quarters.

B O O K
XIII.
A. U. C.
811.
A. D.
53.

XXXIX. TIRIDATES left the field with precipitation, alarmed at the various movements of the Roman army, and fearing the danger of an ambuscade, or, perhaps, intending to cut off the supplies of provisions then on the way from the city of Trebizonde (*a*) and the Pontic sea. But the supplies were conveyed over the mountains, where a chain of posts was formed, to secure the passes. A slow and lingering war was now to be apprehended:

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
511.
A. D.
58.

to bring it to a speedy issue, and compel the Armenians to act on the defensive, Corbulo resolved to level their castles to the ground. The strongest fort in that quarter was known by the name of VOLANDUM (*b*): the demolition of that place he reserved for himself, and against the towns of inferior note he sent Cornelius Flaccus, a lieutenant general, and Instius Capito, præfect of the camp. Having reconnoitred the works, and prepared for the assault, he harangued his men in effect as follows: “ You have now to do with a dastardly and fugitive enemy ; a “ vagabond race, always roving in prædatory bands, betraying “ at once their unwarlike spirit and their perfidy ; impatient of “ peace, and cowards in war. The time is arrived, when the “ whole nation may be exterminated : by one brave exploit “ you may gain both fame and booty to reward your valour.” Having thus inflamed the spirit of his men, he arranged them in four divisions ; one close embodied under their shields, forming a military shell, to sap the foundation of the ramparts ; a second party advanced with ladders to scale the walls ; a third with their warlike engines threw into the place a shower of darts and missile fire ; while the slingers and archers, posted at a convenient distance, discharged a volley of metal and huge massy stones.

To keep the enemy employed in every quarter, the attack was made on all sides at once. In less than four hours the Barbarians were driven from their stations ; the ramparts were left defenceless, the gates were forced, and the works taken by scalade. A dreadful slaughter followed. All who were capable of carrying arms were put to the sword. On the part of the Romans only one man was killed ; the number of wounded was inconsiderable. The women and children were sold to slavery : the rest was left to be plundered by the soldiers. The operations

tions of Flaccus and Capito were attended with equal success. In one day three castles were taken by storm. A general panic overspread the country. From motives of fear or treachery the inhabitants surrendered at discretion. Encouraged by these prosperous events, Corbulo was now resolved to lay siege in form to Artaxata (*c*), the capital of the kingdom. He did not, however, think it advisable to march the nearest way. The river Araxes (*d*) washes the walls of the city: the legions would have found it necessary to construct the necessary bridges in sight of the enemy, exposed to their darts and missile weapons. They took a wider circuit, and forded over where the current was broad and shallow.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

XL. TIRIDATES was thrown into the utmost distress. Shame and fear took possession of him by turns. If he suffered a blockade to be formed, his weak condition would be too apparent; if he attempted to raise the siege, his cavalry might be surrounded in the narrow defiles. He resolved to shew himself towards the close of day in order of battle, and, next morning, either to attack the Romans, or, by a sudden retreat, to draw them into an ambuscade. With this intent he made a sudden movement, and surrounded the legions. The attempt gave no alarm to Corbulo: prepared for all events, he had marshalled his men either for action, or a march. The third legion took post in the right wing; the sixth advanced on the left; and a select detachment from the tenth formed the centre. The baggage was secured between the ranks: a body of a thousand horse brought up the rear, with orders to face the enemy whenever an attack was made, but never to pursue them. The foot archers, and the rest of the cavalry, were distributed in the wings. The left extended their ranks towards the foot of the hills, in order, if the Barbarians advanced on that side, to hem them in between

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
811.
A. D.
58.

the front lines and the centre of the army. Tiridates contented himself with vain parade, shifting his ground with celerity, yet never within the throw of a dart, advancing, retreating, and, by every stratagem, trying to make the Romans open their ranks, and leave themselves liable to be attacked in scattered parties. His efforts were without effect: one officer, who commanded a troop of horse, advanced from his post, and fell under a volley of darts. His temerity restrained the rest of the army. Towards the close of day, Tiridates, seeing his wiles defeated, withdrew with all his forces.

XLI. CORBULO encamped on the spot. Having reason to imagine that Tiridates would throw himself into the city of Artaxata, he debated whether it would not be best, without loss of time, to push forward by rapid marches, and lay siege to the place. While he remained in suspense, intelligence was brought by the scouts that the prince set off at full speed towards some distant region, but whether to Media or Albania, was uncertain. He resolved, therefore, to wait the return of day, and in the mean time dispatched the light armed cohorts, with orders to invest the city, and begin their attack at a proper distance. The inhabitants threw open their gates, and surrendered at discretion. Their lives were saved, but the town was reduced to ashes. No other measure could be adopted: the walls were of wide extent, and a sufficient garrison could not be spared, at a time when it was necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and if the city were left unhurt, the advantage, as well as glory of the conquest, would be lost. To these reasons was added an extraordinary appearance in the heavens. It happened that the sun-beams played with brilliant lustre on the adjacent country, making the whole circumference a scene of splendour, while the precinct of the town was covered with the darkest gloom, at intervals

tervals rendered still more awful by flashes of lightning, that served to shew the impending horror. This phænomenon was believed to be the wrath of the gods denouncing the destruction of the city.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

For these transactions Nero was saluted IMPERATOR. The senate decreed a solemn thanksgiving. Statues and triumphal arches were erected, and the prince was declared perpetual consul. The day on which the victory was gained, and also that on which the news arrived at Rome, and the report was made to the senate, were by a decree to be observed as annual festivals. Many other votes were passed with the same spirit of adulation, all in their tendency so excessive, that Caius Cassius, who had concurred with every motion, observed at last, that if, for the benignity of the gods to the Roman people, due thanks were to be voted, acts of religion would engross the whole year; and, therefore, care should be taken to fix the days of devotion at proper intervals, that they might not encroach too much on the business of civil life.

XLII. ABOUT this time, a man who had suffered various revolutions of fortune, and by his vices had brought on himself the public detestation, was cited to answer a charge exhibited against him before the senate. He was condemned, but not without fixing a stain on the character of Seneca. Suillius (*a*) was the person: in the reign of Claudius he had been the scourge and terror of his fellow-citizens; a venal orator, and an informer by profession. In the late changes of government he had been much reduced, but not low enough to gratify the resentment of his enemies. His spirit was still unconquered. Rather than descend to humble supplications, he preferred the character of a convicted malefactor. To come at this man, a late decree of the senate, reviving the pains and penalties of the

Cincian

BOOK
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

53.

Cincian law (*b*) against such advocates as received a price for their eloquence, was thought to have been framed by the advice of Seneca. Suillius exclaimed against the proceeding. At his time of life he had little to fear. To the natural ferocity of his temper he now added a contempt of danger.

He poured out a torrent of invective, and in particular railed with acrimony against Seneca. “The philosopher,” he said, “was an enemy to the friends of Claudius. He had been banished by that emperor, and the disgrace was not inflicted without just reason. He is now grown old in the pursuit of frivolous literature, a vain retailer of rhetoric to raw and inexperienced boys. He beholds with an eye of envy all, who, in the defence of their fellow-citizens, exert a pure, a sound, a manly eloquence. That Suillius lived with reputation in the service of Germanicus, is a fact well known. He was quaestor under that prince, while Seneca corrupted the morals of his daughter, and dishonoured the family. If it be a crime to receive from a client the reward of honest industry, what shall be said of him, who steals into the chamber of a princess to debauch her virtue (*c*)? By what system of ethics, and by what rules of philosophy, has this professor warped into the favour of the emperor, and, in less than four years, amassed three hundred million of sesterces? Through the city of Rome his snares are spread; last wills and testaments are his quarry; and the rich, who have no children, are his prey. By exorbitant usury (*d*) he has overwhelmed all Italy; the provinces are exhausted, and he is still insatiate. The wealth of Suillius cannot be counted great; but it is the fruit of honest industry. He is now determined to bid defiance to his enemies, and hazard all consequences, rather than derogate from
“ his

“ his rank and the glory of his life, by poorly yielding to a new
 “ man ; an upstart in the state ; a sudden child of fortune.”

B O O K
 XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

XLIII. By a set of officious tale-bearers, who love to carry intelligence, and inflame it with the addition of their own malevolence, these bitter invectives were conveyed to Seneca. The enemies of Suillius were set to work : they charged him with rapine and peculation during his government in Asia. To substantiate these allegations, twelve months were allowed to the prosecutors : but that put off their vengeance to a distant day. To shorten their work, they chose to proceed upon a new charge, without going out of Rome for witnesses. The accusation stated, “ That by a
 “ virulent prosecution he had driven Quintus Pomponius (*a*) into
 “ open rebellion ; that by his pernicious arts Julia, the daughter
 “ of Drusus, and Poppæa Sabina, were forced to put a period to
 “ their lives ; that Valerius Asiaticus, Lufius Saturninus, and
 “ Cornelius Lupus, with a long list of Roman knights, were all
 “ cut off by his villany ; and, in short, every act of cruelty in
 “ the reign of Claudius was imputed to him.” To these charges Suillus answered, That he acted always under the immediate orders of the prince, and never of his own motion. Nero overruled that defence, averring, that he had inspected all the papers of the late emperor, and from those vouchers it plainly appeared, that not one prosecution was set on foot by the order of Claudius. The criminal resorted to the commands of Messalina ; but, by shifting his ground, his cause grew weaker. Why, it was argued, was he the only person who lent himself to the wicked designs of that pernicious prostitute ? Shall the perpetrator of evil deeds, who has received his hire, be allowed to transfer his guilt to the person who paid him the wages of his iniquity ?

Suillius was condemned, and his effects were confiscated,

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
811.
A. D.
52.

except a part allowed to his son and granddaughter, in addition to what was left to them under the will of their mother, and their grandmother. He was banished to the islands called the Baleares (*b*). During the whole of the trial, he behaved with undaunted firmness, and even after the sentence his spirit was still unbroken. He is said to have lived in his lone retreat, not only at ease, but in voluptuous affluence. His enemies intended to wreak their malice on his son Nerulinus, and, with that view, charged him with extortion. Nero checked the prosecution; the ends of justice being, as he thought, sufficiently answered.

XLIV. It happened, at this time, that Octavius Sagitta, tribune of the people, fell in love to distraction with a married woman of the name of Pontia. By presents and unbounded generosity he seduced her to his embraces, and, afterwards by a promise of marriage, engaged her consent to a divorce from her husband. Pontia was no sooner free from the nuptial tie, than her imagination opened to her other prospects. She affected delays; her father made objections; she had hopes of a better match, and finally she refused to perform her contract. Octavius expostulated; he complained; he threatened; his reputation suffered, and his fortune was ruined. His life was all that he had left, and that he was ready to sacrifice at her command. His suit, however earnest, made no impression. In despair, he begged one night only; that small indulgence would assuage his sorrows, and take the sting from disappointment. The assignation was made. Pontia ordered her servant, who was privy to the intrigue, to watch her bed-chamber. The lover went to his appointment. He carried with him one of his freedmen, and a poniard under his robe. The scene which usually occurs, when love is stung to jealousy, was acted between the parties; reproaches,

proaches, fond endearments, rage, and tendernefs, war and peace took their turn (*a*).

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

Part of the night was passed in mutual enjoyment. At length, Octavius, in the moment of soft security, when the unhappy victim thought all violence at an end, seized his dagger, and sheathed it in her heart. The maid rushed in to assist her mistress. Octavius wounded her, and made his escape. On the following day, the murder was reported abroad; and the hand that gave the blow was strongly suspected. Octavius, it was certain, had passed the night with the deceased; but his freedman boldly stood forth, and took the crime upon himself. It was his deed; an act of justice due to an injured master. This generous fortitude from the mouth of an assassin was heard with astonishment, and for some time gained credit, till the maid, who had recovered from her wound, disclosed the particulars of the whole transaction. Pontia's father appealed to the tribunal of the consuls, and Octavius, as soon as his office of tribune ceased, was condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian law against assassins (*b*).

XLV. IN the course of the same year, another scene of libidinous passion was brought forward, more important than that which we have related, and, in the end, the cause of public calamity. Sabina Poppæa, at that time, lived at Rome in a style of taste and elegance. She was the daughter of Titus Ollius, but she took her name from Poppæus Sabinus (*a*), her grandfather by the maternal line. Her father Ollius was, at one time, rising to the highest honours; but, being a friend to Sejanus, he was involved in the ruin of that minister. The grandfather had figured on the stage of public business. He was of consular rank, and obtained the honour of a triumph. To be the known

B O O K
XIII.A. U. C.
811.
A. D.
55.

descendant of a man so distinguished flattered the vanity of Poppæa. Virtue excepted, she possessed all the qualities that adorn the female character. Her mother (*b*) was the reigning beauty of her time. From her the daughter inherited nobility of birth, with all the graces of an elegant form. Her fortune was equal to her rank; her conversation had every winning art; her talents were cultivated, and her wit refined. She knew how to assume an air of modesty, and yet pursue lascivious pleasures; in her deportment, decent; in her heart, a libertine. When she appeared in public, which was but seldom, she wore a veil, that shaded, or seemed to shade her face; perhaps intending, that her beauty should not wear out and tarnish to the eye; or because that style of dress was most becoming. To the voice of fame she paid no regard: her husband and her adulterer were equally welcome to her embraces. Love, with her, was not an affair of the heart. Knowing no attachment herself, she required none from others. Where she saw her interest, there she bestowed her favours; a politician even in her pleasures. She was married to Rufius Crispinus, a Roman knight, and was by him the mother of a son (*c*); but Otho, a youth of expectation, luxurious, prodigal, and high in favour with Nero, attracted her regard. She yielded to his addresses, and, in a short time, married the adulterer.

XLVI. OTHO, in company with the emperor, grew lavish in her praise. Her beauty and her elegant manners were his constant theme. He talked, perhaps, with the warmth and indiscretion of a lover; perhaps, with a design to inflame the passions of Nero, and from their mutual relish of the same enjoyments to derive new strength to support his interest. Rising from Nero's table, he was often heard to say, "I am going to the arms of her, who possesses every amiable accomplishment; by
" her

“her birth ennobled; endeared by beauty; the wish of all beholders, and to the favoured man the source of true delight.” Nero became enamoured. No time was lost. Poppæa received his visits. At the first interview she called forth all her charms, and ensured her conquest. She admired the dignity of the prince. His air, his manner, and his looks were irresistible. By this well-acted fondness she gained entire dominion over his affections. Proud of her success, she thought it time to act her part with female airs and coy reluctance. If Nero wished to detain her more than a night or two, she could not think of complying; she was married to a man whom she loved. She could not risk the loss of a situation so perfectly happy. Otho led a life of taste and elegance, unrivalled in his pleasures. Under his roof she saw nothing but magnificence, in a style worthy of the highest station. She objected to Nero that he had contracted different habits. He lived in close connection with Acté, a low-born slave; and from so mean a commerce, what could be expected but sordid manners and degenerate sentiment! From that moment, Otho lost his interest with the prince: he had orders neither to frequent the palace, nor to shew himself in the train of attendants. At length, to remove a rival, Nero made him governor of Lusitania. Otho quitted Rome, and, till the breaking out of the civil wars, continued in the administration of his province, a firm and upright magistrate, in this instance exhibiting to the world that wonderful union of repugnant qualities which marked the man; in private life, luxurious, profligate, and prone to every vice; in his public capacity, prudent, just, and temperate in the use of power.

XLVII. It was in this juncture that Nero first threw off the mask. He had hitherto cloaked the vices of his nature. The person whom he dreaded most, was Cornelius Sylla; a man, in

BOOK
XIII.A. U. C.
811.
A. D.
58.

fact, of a dull and sluggish understanding; but his stupidity passed with Nero for profound thinking, and the deep reserve of a dangerous politician. In this idea he was confirmed by the malignity of one Graptus, a man enfranchised by the emperor, and from the reign of Tiberius hackneyed in the practice of courts. He framed an artful story. The Milvian (*a*) bridge was, at that time, the fashionable scene of midnight revelry: being out of the limits of Rome, the emperor thought that he might riot, at that place, with unbounded freedom. Graptus told him, that a conspiracy had been formed against his life, and the villains lay in ambush on the Flaminian way; but as fortune would have it, the prince, by passing through the Sallustian (*b*) gardens, escaped the snare. To give colour to this invented tale, he alleged the following circumstance: In one of the riots, which were common in those dissolute times, a set of young men fell into a skirmish with the attendants of the emperor. This, he said, was a concerted plot, and Sylla was the author of it, though not so much as one of his clients, nor even a slave of his, was found to have been of the party. Sylla, in fact, had neither capacity, nor spirit for an undertaking so big with danger; and yet, on the suggestion of Graptus, which was received as positive proof, he was obliged to quit his country, and reside, for the future, in the city of Marseilles.

XLVIII. DURING the same consulship, the senate gave audience to the deputies from the magistrates and the people of Puteoli (*a*). The former complained of the licentiousness of the populace, and the latter retaliated, in bitter terms, against the pride and avarice of the nobles. It appeared that the mob rose in a tumultuous body, discharging volleys of stones, and threatening to set fire to the houses. A general massacre was likely to be the consequence. Caius Cassius was dispatched to quell the

the insurrection. His measures, too harsh and violent for the occasion, served only to irritate the people. He was recalled, at his own request, and the two Scribonii were sent to supply his place. They took with them a prætorian cohort. By the terror of a military force, and the execution of a few ringleaders, the public tranquillity was restored.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

XLIX. A DECREE of the senate, which had no higher object than to authorise the people of Syracuse to exceed, in their public spectacles, the number of gladiators limited by law, would be matter too trite, and unworthy of notice, if the opposition, made by Pætus Thrafea, had not excited against that excellent man a number of enemies. They seized the opportunity to traduce his character. “ If he is, as he pretends to be, seriously of
“ opinion, that the public good requires liberty of speech and
“ freedom of debate, why descend to things so frivolous in their
“ nature? Are peace and war of no importance? When laws
“ are in question; when tributes and imposts are the subject
“ before the fathers, and, when points of the first importance
“ are in agitation, where is his eloquence then? Every senator,
“ who rises in his place, has the privilege of moving what-
“ ever he conceives to be conducive to the public welfare; and
“ what he moves, he has a right to discuss, to debate, and put
“ to the vote. And yet to regulate the amphitheatre of Syracuse
“ is the sole business of a professed and zealous patriot. Is the
“ administration in all its parts so fair and perfect, that even
“ Thrafea himself, if he held the reins of government, could
“ find nothing to reform? If he suffers matters of the first
“ importance to pass in silence, why amuse us with a mock
“ debate on questions, wherein no man finds himself in-
“ terested.”

BOOK
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58

The friends of Thrasea desired an explanation of his conduct: his answer was as follows: When he rose to make his objections to the law in question, he was not ignorant of the mismanagement that prevailed in all departments of the government; but the principle on which he acted, had in view the honour of the senate. When matters of little moment drew the attention of the fathers, men would see that affairs of importance could not escape a body of men, who thought nothing that concerned the public beneath their notice.

L. THE complaints of the people, in the course of this year, against the oppressions practised by the collectors (*a*) of the revenue, were so loud and violent, that Nero was inclined to abolish the whole system of duties and taxes, thereby to serve the interests of humanity, and bestow on mankind the greatest blessing in his power. To this generous sentiment the fathers gave the highest applause; but the design, they said, however noble, was altogether impracticable. To abrogate all taxes, were to cut off the resources of government, and dissolve the commonwealth. Repeal the imposts on trade, and what would be the consequence? The tribute paid by the provinces must, in like manner, be remitted. The several companies that farmed the revenue were established by the consuls and tribunes of Rome, in the period of liberty, when the old republic flourished in all its glory. The revenue system, which has since grown up, was formed on a fair estimate, proportioned to the demands of government. It would, indeed, be highly proper to restrain within due bounds the conduct of the collectors, that the several duties, which were sanctioned by the acquiescence of ages, might not, by oppression and rapacity, be converted into a grievance too rigorous to be endured.

LI. NERO

LI. NERO issued a proclamation, directing that the revenue laws (*a*), till that time kept among the mysteries of state, should be drawn up in form, and entered on the public tables for the inspection of all degrees and ranks of men. It was also made a rule, that no arrear of more than a year's standing should be recovered by the tax-gatherers, and, in all cases of complaint against those officers, the same should be heard and decided in a summary way, by the prætor at Rome, and in the provinces by the proprætors or proconsuls. To the soldiers all former privileges and immunities were preserved, with an exception of the duties on merchandize, if they entered into trade. Many other regulations were added, all just and equitable, and, for some time, strictly observed, but suffered afterwards to fall into disuse. The abolition, however, of the fortieth and the fiftieth penny, with many other exactions, invented by the avarice of the publicans, still continues in force. The exportation of corn, from the provinces beyond sea, was also put under proper regulations; the imposts were diminished; the shipping employed in commerce was not to be rated in the estimate of the merchants effects, and, of course, stood exempted from all duties.

LII. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS (*a*) and Pomponius Silvanus, who had governed in Africa with proconsular authority, were both accused of mal-administration, and acquitted by the emperor. The accusers of Camerinus were few in number, and their allegations were private acts of cruelty to individuals, not rapine or extortion, or any charge of a public nature. Silvanus was beset by powerful enemies. They prayed time to produce their witnesses: the defendant pressed for an immediate hearing. He was rich, advanced in years, and had no children; the consequence was, that a strong party espoused his interest. He triumphed over his enemies and his friends went unrewarded.

They

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

53.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

53.

They hoped by their services to merit his estate, but he survived them all.

LIII. DURING this whole period, a settled calm prevailed in Germany. The commanders, in that quarter, plainly saw that triumphal ornaments, granted, as they had been, on every trifling occasion, were no longer an honour. To preserve the peace of the provinces they thought their truest glory. Paulinus Pompeius and Lucius Vetus were then at the head of the legions. That the soldiery, however, might not languish in a state of inaction, Paulinus finished the great work of a bank, to prevent the inundations of the Rhine; a project begun by Drusus sixty-three years before(*a*). Vetus had conceived a vast design: he had in contemplation a canal, by which the waters of the Moselle(*b*) and the Arar were to be communicated, to the end that the Roman forces might be able, for the future, to enter the Rhone from the Mediterranean, and passing thence into the Arar, proceed through the new channel into the Moselle, and sail down the Rhine into the German Ocean. This plan was on a great scale: fatiguing marches over a long tract of land would be no longer necessary, and a commodious navigation would be opened between the western and the northern seas.

Ælius Gracilis, who commanded in the Belgic Gaul, heard of this magnificent plan with the jealousy of a little mind. He gave notice to Vetus, that he and his legions must not think of entering the province of another officer. Such a step, he said, would have the appearance of a design to gain the affections of the people of Gaul, and, by consequence, might give umbrage to the emperor. In this manner, as often happens, the danger of having too much merit laid aside a project of great importance to the public.

LIV. THE Barbarians, having seen the long inactivity of the

the Roman armies, conceived a notion, that the generals had it in command not to march against the enemy. In this persuasion, the Frisians (*a*), having ordered the weak, through sex or age, to be conveyed across the lakes, marched with the flower of their young men through woods and morasses towards the banks of the Rhine, where they took possession of a large tract, vacant, indeed, at the time, but in fact appropriated to the use of the Roman soldiers. In this emigration, the leading chiefs were Verritus and Malorix, both of them sovereign princes, if sovereign power may be said to exist in Germany. They had already fixed their habitations; they began to cultivate the soil, and the lands were sown in as full security as if they occupied their native soil; when Vibius Avitus, who succeeded Paulinus in the government of the province, threatened to attack them with his whole force, if they did not evacuate the country, or obtain a settlement from the emperor. Intimidated by these menaces, the German chiefs set out for Rome. Being there obliged to wait till Nero was at leisure from other business, they employed their time in seeing such curiosities as are usually shewn to strangers. They were conducted to Pompey's theatre (*b*), where the grandeur of the people, in one vast assembly, could not fail to make an impression. Rude minds have no taste for the exhibitions of the theatre (*c*). They gazed at every thing with a face of wonder: the place for the populace, and the different seats assigned to the several orders of the state, engaged their attention. Curiosity was excited: they enquired which were the Roman knights, and which the senators? Among the last they perceived a few, who, by their exotic dress, were known to be foreigners. They soon learned that they were ambassadors from different states, and that the privilege of mixing with the fathers was granted by way of distinction, to do honour to men, who by their courage and fidelity surpassed the rest of the world. The answer gave offence to the

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

two chieftains. In point of valour and integrity, the Germans, they said, were second to no people upon earth. With this stroke of national pride, they rose abruptly, and took their seats among the senators. Their rough, but honest simplicity diffused a general pleasure through the audience. It was considered as the sudden impulse of liberty; a glow of generous emulation. Nero granted to the two chiefs the privilege of Roman citizens, but, at the same time, declared, that the Frisians must depart from the lands which they had presumed to occupy. The Barbarians refused to submit. A detachment of the auxiliary horse was sent forward, with orders to dislodge them. The attack was made with vigour, and all who resisted, were either taken prisoners, or put to the sword.

LV. ANOTHER irruption was soon after made in the same quarter by the Ansibarians (*a*), a people respected for their own internal strength, and still more formidable, on account of the general sympathy with which the neighbouring states beheld their sufferings. They had been driven by the Chaucians from their native land, and having no place which they could call their country, they roamed about in quest of some retreat, where they might dwell in peace, although in exile. Boiocalus, a warlike chief, was at the head of this wandering nation. He had gained renown in arms, and distinguished himself by his faithful attachment to the interests of Rome. He urged, in vindication of his conduct, that, in the revolt of the Cherusicans (*b*), he had been loaded with irons by the order of Arminius. Since that time, he had served in the Roman armies; at first under Tiberius, and afterwards under Germanicus; and now, at the end of fifty years, he was willing to add to his past services the merit of submitting himself and his people to the protection of the Romans. “The country in dispute,” he said, “was of wide
“ extent;

“ extent ; and under colour of reserving it for the use of the
 “ legions, whole tracts of land remained unoccupied, waste, and
 “ desolate. Let the Roman soldiers depasture their cattle ; let
 “ them retain lands for that purpose ; but let them not, while
 “ they feed their horses, reduce mankind to the necessity of
 “ perishing by famine. Let them not prefer a dreary solitude
 “ to the interests of humanity. The affections of a people,
 “ willing to live in friendship with them, are preferable to a wide
 “ waste of barren lands. The exclusive possession of the country
 “ in question was by no means a novelty. It had been occu-
 “ pied, first by the Chamavians (c) ; after them, by the Tuban-
 “ tes ; and, finally, by the Usipians. The firmament over our
 “ heads is the mansion of the gods ; the earth was given to
 “ man ; and what remains unoccupied, lies in common for all.”
 At these words, he looked up to the sun, and appealing to the
 whole planetary system, asked with a spirit of enthusiasm, as
 if the heavenly luminaries were actually present, whether an un-
 cultivated desert, the desolation of nature, gave a prospect fit
 for them to survey ? Would they not rather let loose the
 ocean, to overwhelm in a sudden deluge a race of men, who
 made it their trade to carry devastation through the nations,
 and make the world a wilderness ?

LVI. AVITUS answered in a decisive tone, that the law of the
 strongest must prevail. “ The gods, whom Boiocalus invoked,
 “ had so ordained. By their high will, the Romans were in-
 “ vested with supreme authority : to give, or take away was
 “ their prerogative ; they were the sovereign arbiters, and would
 “ admit no other judges.” Such was the answer given in pub-
 lic to the Ansibarians. To Boiocalus, in consideration of his
 former merit, an allotment of lands was privately offered. The
 German considered it as the price of treachery, and rejected it

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

with disdain: "The earth," he said, "may not afford a spot where we may dwell in peace; a place where we may die we can never want." The interview ended here. Both sides departed with mutual animosity. The Ansibarians prepared for war. They endeavoured to rouse the Bructerians (*a*), the Tencsterians, and other nations still more remote. Avitus sent dispatches to Curtilius Mancina, the commander in chief on the Upper Rhine, with instructions to cross the river, and shew himself in the rear of the enemy. In the mean time, he put himself at the head of his legions, and entered the country of the Tencsterians (*b*), threatening to carry sword and fire through their territories, if they did not forthwith renounce the confederacy. The Barbarians laid down their arms. The Bructerians in a panic followed their example. Terror and consternation spread through the country. In the cause of others none were willing to encounter certain danger.

In this distress, the Ansibarians, abandoned by all, retreated to the Usipians and Tubantes. Being there rejected, they sought protection from the Cattians, and afterwards from the Cherusicans. In the end, worn out with long and painful marches, nowhere received as friends, in most places repulsed as enemies, and wanting every thing in a foreign land, the whole nation perished. The young, and such as were able to carry arms, were put to the sword; the rest were sold to slavery.

LVII. IN the course of the same summer, a battle was fought, with great rage and slaughter, between the Hermundurians and the Cattians (*a*). The exclusive property of a river, which flowed between both nations, impregnated with stores of salt (*b*), was the cause of their mutual animosity. To the natural fierceness of Barbarians, who know no decision but that of the sword, they

added

added the gloomy motives of superstition. According to the creed of those savage nations, that part of the world lay in the vicinity of the heavens, and thence the prayers of men were wafted to the ear of the gods. The whole region was, by consequence, peculiarly favoured; and to that circumstance it was to be ascribed, that the river and the adjacent woods teemed with quantities of salt (*c*), not, as in other places, a concretion on the sea-shore, formed by the foaming of the waves, but produced by the simple act of throwing the water from the stream on a pile of burning wood, where, by the conflict of opposite elements, the substance was engendered. For this salt a bloody battle was fought. Victory declared in favour of the Hermundurians. The event was the more destructive to the Cattians, as both armies, with their usual ferocity, had devoted the vanquished as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. By that horrible vow, men and horses, with whatever belonged to the routed army, were doomed to destruction. The vengeance meditated by the Cattians fell with redoubled fury on themselves.

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

About the same time, a dreadful and unforeseen disaster befel the Ubians, a people in alliance with Rome. By a sudden eruption of subterraneous fire, their farms, their villages, their cities, and their habitations were all involved in one general conflagration. The flames extended far and wide, and well nigh reached the Roman colony, lately founded in that part of Germany. The fire raged with such violence, that neither the rain from the heavens, nor the river-waters could extinguish it. Every remedy failed, till the peasants, driven to desperation, threw in heaps of stones, and checked the fury of the flames. The mischief beginning to subside, they advanced with clubs, as if to attack a troop of wild beasts. Having beat down the fire, they stripped off their cloaths, and throwing them, wet and besmeared

B O O K
XIII.

A. U. C.

811.

A. D.

58.

besmeared with filth, upon the flames, extinguished the conflagration.

LVIII. THIS year the tree, called RUMINALIS (*a*), which stood in the place assigned for public elections, and eight hundred and forty years before (*b*) had given shelter to the infancy of Romulus and Remus, began to wither in all its branches. The sapless trunk seemed to threaten a total decay. This was considered as a dreadful prognostic, till new buds expanding into leaf, the tree recovered its former verdure.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

T H E

A N N A L S

O F

T A C I T U S.

B O O K XIV.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XIV.

NERO's passion for Poppæa, and his hatred of Agrippina his mother more violent than ever. Agrippina tries to regain his affections, but in vain. Nero approves of a scheme to drown her in the sea. A ship constructed for the purpose. Agrippina escapes from the wreck. Nero enraged sends Anicetus, the commander of the fleet at Misenum, to murder her. XI. Nero's letter to the senate justifying the murder. Supplications decreed to the gods. Pætus Thrasea goes out of the senate full of indignation. XIII. Nero rushes into every excess. He drives chariots, plays on the flute, and compels men of family to appear on the stage. He exhibits in public, and turns poet. XVII. A dreadful fray between the inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeium. XVIII. Complaints preferred to the senate by the Cyrenians. Death of Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two famous orators: their characters. XX. Quinquennial games established by Nero: observations on that institution. XXII. A comet portends a change of government. Rubellius Plautus driven into banishment. XXIII. The wise and gallant conduct of Corbulo in Armenia. He takes Artaxata, and afterwards Tigranocerta, and places Tigranes on the throne of Armenia. XXVII. Laodicea, a city in Asia, destroyed by an earthquake. Imprudent and impolitic management of the Roman government in regard to the colonies. XXVIII. The election of prætors settled by the prince. XXIX. A general insurrection in Britain. Sue-

CONTENTS OF BOOK XIV.

tonius Paulinus sent to command the army. He takes the isle of Mona (now Anglesey), and destroys the religious groves. During his absence in those parts; a general massacre of the Romans. The province almost lost, but recovered by Suetonius, who defeats Boadicea with prodigious slaughter. XL. The governor, or præfect of Rome, murdered by one of his slaves. Debates in the senate about the punishment of all slaves in the house at the time of a murder committed on the master. XLVI. Tarquitiuſ Priscuſ condemned. Death of Memmiuſ Reguluſ: his character. Nero dedicates a school for athletic exercises. The law of majesty revived. Antistiuſ, the prætor, prosecuted for a satirical poem on the emperor. The senate willing to inflict a capital punishment: Pætuſ Thraſea opposes the motion: the majority vote on his side. LI. Burrhuſ dies universally lamented. LII. Attempts against Seneca: his enemies undermine him with the prince. His interview with Nero: his speech, and the prince's answer. LVII. Tigellinuſ in high favour: by his advice Sylla murdered at Marseilles, and Plautuſ in Asia. LX. Nero repudiates his wife Octavia, and marries Poppæa. An insurrection of the populace. Anicetuſ suborned by Nero to confess himself guilty of adultery with Octavia. She is banished by Nero to the isle of Pandatavia, and soon after murdered.

These transactions include near four years.

Years of Rome—of Christ		Consuls
812	59	{ Caiuſ Vipſtanuſ Apronianuſ, Luciuſ Fonteuſ Capito.
813	60	Nero, 4th time, Coſſuſ Corneliuſ Lentuluſ.
814	61	Cæſoniuſ Pætuſ, Petroniuſ Turpilianuſ.
815	62	P. Mariuſ Celfuſ, L. Aſiniuſ Galluſ.

T H E
A N N A L S
O F
T A C I T U S.

B O O K XIV.

I. CAIUS VIPSTANUS and Lucius Fonteius succeeded to the consulship. Nero was determined no longer to defer the black design which had lain for some time fostered in his heart. He had gained in four years a taste of power, and was now grown sanguine enough to think that he might hazard a daring stride in guilt. His love for Poppæa kindled every day to higher ardour. To be the imperial wife was the ambition of that aspiring beauty; but while Agrippina lived, she could not hope to see Octavia divorced from the emperor. She began, by whispered calumny, to undermine the emperor's mother, and, at times, in a vein of pleasantry, to alarm the pride and jealousy of Nero. With an air of raillery she called him a pupil, still under

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

BOOK
XIV.A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

tuition; a dependant on the will of others, in fancy guiding the reins of government, but, in reality, deprived of personal liberty. "For what other reason was her marriage so long deferred? "Had her person already lost the power of pleasing? Were "the triumphal honours obtained by her ancestors a bar to her "preferment? Or, was it supposed that she was not of a fruitful "constitution, capable of bearing children? Perhaps the sincerity "of her love was called in question. No; the voice of a wife "might be heard, and the pride and avarice with which an imperious mother insulted the senate and oppressed the people, "might be exposed in open day. If, however, it was a settled "point with Agrippina, that no one but the bosom plague of "the emperor should be her daughter-in-law, Poppæa could "return to the embraces of Otho (*a*); with him she could retire to some remote corner of the world, where she might hear, "indeed, of the emperor's disgrace, but at a distance, with the "consolation of neither being a spectatress of the scene, nor a "sharer in his afflictions." By these and such like suggestions, intermixed with tears and female artifice, she ensnared the heart of Nero. No one attempted to weaken her influence. To see the pride of Agrippina humbled was the wish of all; but that the son would renounce the ties of natural affection, and imbrue his hands in the blood of his mother, was what never entered the imagination of any man.

II. IN the history of those times transmitted to us by Cluvius, we read, that Agrippina, in her rage for power, did not scruple to meet the emperor about the middle of the day, as he rose from table, high in blood, and warm with wine. Having adorned her person to the best advantage, she hoped, in those moments, to incite desire, and allure him to the unnatural union. Wanton play and amorous dalliance were seen by the confi-

dential

dential attendants, and deemed a certain prelude to the act of criminal gratification. Against the artifices of one woman Seneca resolved to play off the charms of another, and Acté (*a*) was accordingly employed. The jealousy of the concubine was easily alarmed: she saw her own danger, and the infamy that awaited the prince. Being taught her lesson, she gave notice to Nero that he was publicly charged with incest, while his mother gloried in the crime. The army, she said, would revolt from a man plunged in vice of so deep a dye. Fabius Rusticus differs from this account. If we believe that author, Agrippina did not seek this vile pollution. It was the unnatural passion of Nero, and Acté had the address to wean him from it. Cluvius, however, is confirmed by the testimony of other writers. The report of common fame is also on his side. Men were willing to believe the worst of Agrippina. If she was not, in fact, guilty of a design so detestable, a new inclination, however shocking to nature, seemed probable in a woman of her character; who, in the prime of her youth, from motives of ambition, resigned her person to Lepidus (*b*); who afterwards, with the same view, descended to be the prostitute of Pallas, and, to crown the whole, by an incestuous marriage with her uncle, avowed herself capable of the worst of crimes.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

III. FROM this time Nero shunned the presence of his mother. Whenever she went to her gardens, or to either of her seats at Tusculum (*a*) or Antium, he commended her taste for the pleasures of retirement. At length, detesting her wherever she was, he determined to dispatch her at once. How to execute his purpose, whether by poison, or the poniard, was the only difficulty. The former seemed the most advisable; but to administer it at his own table might be dangerous, since the fate of Britannicus was too well known. To tamper with her domestics

domestics

BOOK
XIV.A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

metics was equally unsafe. A woman of her cast, practised in guilt, and inured to evil deeds, would be upon her guard; and besides, by the habit of using antidotes, she was fortified against every kind of poison. To assassinate her, and yet conceal the murder, was impracticable. Nero had no settled plan, nor was there among his creatures a single person in whom he could confide.

In this embarrassment Anicetus offered his assistance. This man had a genius for the worst iniquity. From the rank of an enfranchised slave he rose to the command of the fleet that lay at Misenum. He had been tutor to Nero in his infancy, and always at variance with Agrippina. Mutual hostility produced mutual hatred. He proposed the model of a ship upon a new construction, formed in such a manner that, in the open sea, part might give way at once, and plunge Agrippina to the bottom. The ocean, he said, was the element of disasters; and if the vessel foundered, malignity itself could not convert into a crime what would appear to be the effect of adverse winds and boisterous waves. After her decease the prince would have nothing to do but to raise a temple to her memory. Altars and public monuments would be proofs of filial piety.

IV. NERO approved of the stratagem, and the circumstances of the time conspired to favour it. The court was then at Baiæ, to celebrate, during five days, the festival called the QUINQUATRUA (*a*). Agrippina was invited to be of the party. To tempt her thither Nero changed his tone. "The humours of a parent claimed indulgence; for sudden starts of passion allowance ought to be made, and petty resentments could not be effaced too soon." By this artifice he hoped to circulate an opinion of his entire reconciliation, and Agrippina, he had no

doubt,

doubt, with the easy credulity of her sex, would be the dupe of a report that flattered her wishes. She sailed from Antium to attend the festival. The prince went to the sea-coast to receive her. He gave her his hand; he embraced her tenderly, and conducted her to a villa called Bauli (*b*), in a pleasant situation, washed by the sea, where it forms a bay between the cape of Misenum and the gulph of Baiæ. Among the vessels that lay at anchor, one in particular, more superb than the rest, seemed intended by its decorations to do honour to the emperor's mother. Agrippina was fond of sailing parties. She frequently made coasting voyages in a galley with three ranks of oars, and mariners selected from the fleet. The banquet, of which she was to partake, was fixed at a late hour, that the darkness of the night might favour the perpetration of an atrocious deed.

B. O. O. K.
XIV.

A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

But the secret transpired: on the first intelligence, Agrippina, it is said, could scarce give credit to so black a story. She chose, however, to be conveyed to Baiæ in a land carriage. Her fears, as soon as she arrived, were dissipated by the polite address of her son. He gave her the most gracious reception, and placed her at table above himself. He talked with frankness, and, by intermixing sallies of youthful vivacity with more sedate conversation, had the skill to blend the gay, the airy, and the serious. He protracted the pleasures of the social meeting to a late hour, when Agrippina thought it time to retire. The prince attended her to the shore; he exchanged a thousand fond endearments, and, clasping her to his bosom, fixed his eyes upon her with ardent affection, perhaps intending, under the appearance of filial piety, to disguise his purpose; or, it might be, that the sight of a mother doomed to destruction, might make even a heart like his yield, for a moment, to the touch of nature.

V. THAT

BOOK
XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

V. THAT this iniquitous scene should not be wrapped in darkness, the care of Providence seems to have interposed. The night was calm and serene; the stars shot forth their brightest lustre, and the sea presented a smooth expanse, Agrippina went on board, attended by only two of her domestic train. One of them, Crepereius Gallus, took his place near the steerage; the other, a female attendant, by name Acerronia, stretched herself at the foot of the bed where her mistress lay, and in the fullness of her heart expressed her joy to see the son awakened to a sense of his duty, and the mother restored to his good graces. The vessel had made but little way, when, on a signal given, the deck over Agrippina's cabin fell in at once. Being loaded with lead, Crepereius was crushed under the weight. The props of the bed-room, happening to be of a solid structure, bore up the load, and saved both Agrippina and her servant. Nor did the vessel, as was intended, fall to pieces at once. Consternation, hurry, and confusion followed. The innocent, in a panic, bustled to and fro, embarrassing and confounding such as were in the plot. To heave the ship on one side, and sink her at once, was the design of the accomplices: but not acting in concert, and the rest making contrary efforts, the vessel went down by slow degrees. This gave the passengers an opportunity of escaping from the wreck, and trusting to the mercy of the waves.

Acerronia, in her fright, called herself Agrippina, and, with pathetic accents, implored the mariners to save the emperor's mother. The assassins fell upon her with their oars, with their poles, and with whatever instruments they could seize. She died under repeated blows. Agrippina hushed her fears; not a word escaping from her, she passed undistinguished by the murderers, without any other damage than a wound on her shoulder.

shoulder. She dashed into the sea, and, by struggling with all her efforts, kept herself above water till the small barks put off from the shore, and, coming in good time to her assistance, conveyed her up the Lucrine lake (*a*) to her own villa.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

VI. SHE was now at leisure to reflect on the misery of her situation. The treachery of her son's letter, conceived in terms of affection, and his mock civility, were too apparent. Without a gust of wind, and without touching a rock, at a small distance from the shore, the vessel broke down from the upper deck, like a piece of mechanism constructed for the purpose. The death of Acerronia, and the wound which she herself received, were decisive circumstances. But even in that juncture she thought it best to temporise. Against powerful enemies not to see too much is the safest policy. She sent her freedman Agerinus to inform her son that, by the favour of the gods, and the good auspices of the emperor, she had escaped from a shipwreck. The news, she had no doubt, would affect her son, but, for the present, she wished he would forbear to visit her. In her situation, rest was all she wanted. Having dispatched her messenger, she assumed an air of courage; she got her wound dressed, and used all proper applications. With an air of ease she called for the last will of Acerronia, and, having ordered an inventory to be made of her effects, secured every thing under her own seal; acting in this single article without dissimulation.

VII. NERO, in the mean time, expected, with impatience, an account of his mother's death. Intelligence at last was brought that she still survived, wounded, indeed, and knowing from what quarter the blow was aimed. The prince heard the news with terror and astonishment. In the hurry of his imagination he saw his mother already at hand, fierce with indignation, calling

BOOK
XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

58.

aloud for vengeance, and rousing her slaves to an insurrection. She might have recourse to the army, and stir up a rebellion; she might open the whole dark transaction to the senate; she might carry her complaints to the ear of the people. Her wound, the wreck, the murder of her friends, every circumstance would inflame resentment. What course remained for him? Where was Seneca? and where was Burrhus? He had sent for them on the first alarm: they came with expedition, but whether strangers to the plot, remains uncertain. They stood, for some time, fixed in silence. To dissuade the emperor from his fell design, they knew was not in their power; and, in the present dilemma, they saw, perhaps, that Agrippina must fall, or Nero perish. Seneca, though on all other occasions ready to take the lead, fixed his eyes on Burrhus. After a pause, he desired to know whether it were advisable to order the soldiers to complete the business? Burrhus was of opinion, that the prætorian soldiers, devoted to the house of Cæsar, and still respecting the memory of Germanicus, would not be willing to spill the blood of his daughter. It was for Anicetus to finish the last act of the tragedy.

That bold assassin undertook the business. He desired to have the catastrophe in his own hands. Nero revived at the sound. From that day, he said, the imperial dignity would be his, and that mighty benefit would be conferred by an enfranchised slave. "Haste, fly," he cried; "take with you men fit for your purpose, and consummate all." Anicetus heard that a message was sent by Agrippina, and that Agerinus was actually arrived. His ready invention planned a new scene of villany. While the messenger was in the act of addressing the prince, he dropped a poniard between his legs, and instantly, as if he had discovered a treasonable design, seized the man, and loaded him with irons, from

from that circumstance taking colour to charge Agrippina with a plot against the life of her son. When she was disposed of, a report that, in despair, she put an end to her life, would be an apt addition to the fable.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

VIII. MEANWHILE, the news of Agrippina's danger spread an alarm round the country. The general cry imputed it to accident. The people rushed in crowds to the sea-shore; they went on the piers that projected into the sea: they filled the boats; they waded as far as they could venture; stretching forth their hands, and calling aloud for help: the bay resounded with shrieks and lamentations, with distracting questions, dissonant answers, and a wild confusion of voices. Amidst the uproar, numbers came with lighted torches. Finding that Agrippina was safe, they pressed forward to offer their congratulations, when a body of armed soldiers, threatening violence, obliged the whole crowd to disperse. Anicetus planted a guard round the mansion of Agrippina, and having burst open the gates, he seized the slaves, and forced his way to her apartment.

A few domestics remained at the door to guard the entrance; fear had dispersed the rest. In the room, the pale glimmer of a feeble light was seen, and only one maid in waiting. Before the ruffians broke in, Agrippina passed the moments in dreadful agitation: she wondered that no messenger arrived from her son. What detained Agerinus? She listened, and on the coast where, not long before, the whole was tumult, noise, and confusion, a dismal silence prevailed, broken, at intervals, by a sudden uproar, that added to the horror of the scene. Agrippina trembled for herself. Her servant was leaving the room: she called to her, "And do you too desert me?" In that instant she saw Anicetus entering the chamber. Hercules, who had the com-

mand

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
511.
A. D.
59.

mand of a galley, and Oloaritus, a marine centurion, followed him. "If you come," said Agrippina, "from the prince, tell him I am well; if your intents are murderous, you are not sent by my son: the guilt of parricide is foreign to his heart." The ruffians surrounded her bed. The centurion of the marines was drawing his sword: at the sight Agrippina presented her person, "And here," she said, "PLUNGE YOUR SWORD IN MY WOMB." Hercules, in that moment, gave the first blow with a club, and wounded her on the head. She expired under a number of mortal wounds.

IX. THE facts here related stand confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historians. It is added, but not with equal authority, that Nero beheld his mother stretched in death, and praised the elegance of her form. This, however, is denied by other writers. The body was laid out on a common couch, such as is used at meals, and, without any other ceremony, burnt that very night. During the life of Nero, no honour was offered to her remains; no tomb was erected to tell where she lay: nor was there so much as a mound of earth to inclose the place. After some time an humble monument (*a*) was raised by her domestics on the road to Misenum, near the villa (*b*) of Cæsar the Dictator, which, from an eminence, commands a beautiful prospect of the sea and the bays along the coast. Mneſter, one of the enfranchised slaves of Agrippina, attended the funeral. As soon as the pile was lighted, this man, unwilling to survive his mistress, or, perhaps, dreading the malice of her enemies, dispatched himself with his own sword. Of her own dreadful catastrophe Agrippina had warning many years before, when consulting the Chaldæans about the future lot of her son, she was told, that he would reign at Rome, and

kill

kill his mother. "Let him," she said, "let him kill me, but
 "let him reign."

B O O K
 XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

X. THIS dreadful parricide was no sooner executed, than Nero began to feel the horrors of his guilt. He lay, during the rest of the night, on the rack of his own mind; silent, pensive, starting up with sudden fear, wild and distracted. He lifted his eyes in quest of day-light, yet dreaded its approach. The tribunes and centurions, by the advice of Burrhus, were the first to administer consolation. The flattery of these men raised him from despair. They grasped his hand, congratulating him on his escape from the dark designs of his mother. His friends crowded to the temples to offer up their thanks to the gods. The neighbouring cities of Campania followed their example. They offered victims, and sent addresses to the prince. Nero played a different part: he appeared with a dejected mien, weary of life, and inconsolable for the loss of his mother. But the face of a country cannot, like the features of man, assume a new appearance. The sea and the adjacent coast presented to his eyes a scene of guilt and horror. It was reported at the time that the sound of trumpets was distinctly heard along the ridge of the hills, and groans and shrieks issued from Agrippina's grave. Nero removed to Naples, and from that place dispatched letters to the senate, in substance as follows:

XI. "AGERINUS, the freedman of Agrippina, and of all her
 "creatures the highest in her confidence, was found armed with
 "a poniard; and the blow being prevented, with the same spirit
 "that planned the murder of her son, she dispatched herself."
 The letter proceeded to state a number of past transactions:
 "Her ambition aimed at a share in the supreme power, and
 "the prætorian bands were obliged to take an oath of fidelity
 "to

BOOK
XIV.A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

“to her. The senate and the people were to submit to the same
 “indignity, and bear the yoke of female tyranny. Seeing her
 “schemes defeated, she became an enemy to the fathers, to the
 “soldiers, and the whole community; she neither suffered a
 “donative to be distributed to the army, nor a largess to the
 “populace. At her instigation prosecutions were set on foot
 “against the best and most illustrious men in Rome. If she
 “did not enter the senate, and give audience to the ambassa-
 “dors of foreign nations (*a*), all would remember how that
 “disgrace was prevented.” The reign of Claudius did not es-
 cape his animadversion; but whatever were the enormities of
 that period, Agrippina, he said, was the cause of all. Her death
 was an event in which the good fortune of the empire was sig-
 nally displayed. He gave a circumstantial account of the ship-
 wreck: but what man existed, so absurd and stupid, as to be-
 lieve it the effect of chance? Was it probable that a woman,
 who had just escaped from the fury of the waves, would send a
 single ruffian to attempt the life of a prince, surrounded by his
 guards and his naval officers? The indignation of the public
 was not confined to Nero: with regard to him, who had
 plunged in guilt beyond all example, it was useless to complain.
 Censure was lost in mute astonishment. The popular odium
 fell on Seneca: his pen was seen in the prince’s letters, and the
 attempt to gloss and varnish so vile a deed, was considered as
 the avowal of an accomplice.

XII. THE voice of the people did not restrain the adulation
 of the senate. Several decrees were passed in a strain of servile
 flattery; such as supplications and solemn vows at all the altars
 throughout the city of Rome; the festival called the *Quin-*
quatrua (during which the late conspiracy was detected) were
 to be celebrated, for the future, with the addition of public
 games;

games; the statue of Minerva, wrought in gold, to be placed in the senate-house, with that of the emperor near it; and finally, the anniversary of Agrippina's birth-day to be unhallowed in the calendar. Pætus Thrasea had been often present, when the fathers descended to acts of meanness, and he did not rise in opposition; but, upon this occasion, he left his seat, and walked out of the house, by his virtue provoking future vengeance, yet doing no service to the cause of liberty.

B O O K
XIV.
A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

There happened, about this time, a number of prodigies, all deemed striking prognostics, but no consequences followed. A woman was delivered of a serpent: another died in the embrace of her husband, by a stroke of thunder. The sun suffered an eclipse (*a*), and the fourteen quarters of Rome were struck with lightning. In these extraordinary appearances the hand of providence, it is evident, did not interpose; since the vices and tyranny of Nero continued to harass mankind for several years. The policy of the prince had now two objects in view; the first to blacken the memory of his mother; and the second, to amuse the people with a show of his own clemency, when left, without controul, to the bent of his own inclination. To this end, he recalled from banishment, to which they had been condemned by the vindictive spirit of Agrippina, two illustrious women, namely, Junia (*b*) and Calpurnia, together with Valerius Capito, and Licinius Gabolus, both of prætorian rank. He permitted the ashes of Lolliia Paulina (*c*) to be brought to Rome, and a mausoleum to be erected to her memory. To Iturius and Calvifius (*d*), whom his own violence had driven into exile, he granted a free pardon. Silana (*e*) had paid her debt to nature. Towards the end of Agrippina's life, when the power of that princess began to decline, or her resentment to be appeased, she

had

B O O K XIV. had obtained leave to return from her distant exile as far as Tarentum. At that place she closed her days.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

XIII. NERO loitered in the towns of Campania, full of doubt and perplexity, unable to determine how he should enter the city of Rome. Would the senate receive him with a submissive and complying spirit? Could he rely on the temper of the people? These were points that made him anxious and irresolute. The vile advisers of his court (and never court abounded with so pernicious a race) interfered to animate his drooping spirit. They assured him, with confidence, that the name of Agrippina was held in detestation, and, since her death, the affections of the people for the person of the emperor knew no bounds. He had only to shew himself, and it would be seen that he reigned in the hearts of the multitude. To prepare the way, they desired leave to enter the city of Rome before him.

On their arrival, they found all things favourable beyond their hopes; they saw the several tribes going forth in procession to meet the prince; the senate in their robes of state; whole crowds of women, with their children, ranged in classes according to their respective ages, in the streets through which Nero was to pass; rows of scaffolding built up, and an amphitheatre of spectators, as if a triumph were to enter the city. Nero made his entry, flushed with the pride of victory over the minds of willing slaves, and proceeded, amidst the acclamations of gazing multitudes, to the capitol, where he offered thanks to the gods. From that moment he threw off all restraint. The authority of his mother, feeble as it was, had hitherto curbed the violence of his passions: but that check being now removed, he broke out at once, and gave a full display of his character.

XIV. To

XIV. To acquire the fame of a charioteer, and to figure in the race with a curricule and four horses, had been long the favourite passion of Nero. He had besides another frivolous talent: he could play on the harp, and sing to his own performance. With this pitiful ambition he had been often the minstrel of convivial parties. He justified his taste by observing, that “ in ancient times, it had been the practice of heroes and of kings. The names of illustrious persons, who consecrated their talents to the honour of the gods, were preserved in immortal verse. Apollo was the tutelar deity of melody and song; and, though invested with the higher attributes of inspiration and prophecy; he was represented, not only in the cities of Greece, but also in the Roman temples, with a lyre in his hand, and the dress of a musical performer.” The rage of Nero for these amusements was not to be controuled. Seneca and Burrhus endeavoured to prevent the ridicule, to which a prince might expose himself by exhibiting his talents to the multitude. By their direction, a wide space, in the vale at the foot of the Vatican (*a*), was inclosed for the use of the emperor, that he might there manage the reins, and practise all his skill, without being a spectacle for the public eye. But his love of fame was not to be confined within those narrow bounds. He invited the multitude. They extolled, with raptures, the abilities of a prince, who gratified their darling passion for public diversions.

B O O K
XIV.
A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

The two governors were in hopes that their pupil, as soon as he had his frolic, would be sensible of the disgrace; but the effect was otherwise. The applause of the populace inspired him with fresh ardour. To keep himself in countenance, he conceived, if he could bring the practice into fashion, that his own infamy would be lost in the disgrace of others. With this view, he cast his eye on the descendants of families once illustrious

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

trious, but at that time fallen to decay. From that class of men he selected the most necessitous, such as would be easily tempted to let themselves out for hire. He retained them as actors, and produced them on the public stage. Their names I forbear to mention: though they are now no more, the honour of their ancestors claims respect. The disgrace recoils on him, who chose to employ his treasure, not for the noble end of preventing scandal, but to procure it. Nor was he willing to stop here: by vast rewards he bribed several Roman knights to descend into the Arena, and present a show to the people. The situation of these unhappy men deserves our pity: for what are the bribes of an absolute prince, but the commands of him who has power to compel?

XV. NERO was not as yet hardy enough to expose his person on a public stage. To gratify his passion for scenic amusements, and at the same time to save appearances, he established an entertainment, called the JUVENILE SPORTS. To promote this institution, numbers of the first distinction enrolled their names. Neither rank, nor age, nor civil honours were an exemption. All degrees embraced the theatrical art, and, with emulation, became the rivals of Greek and Roman mimicry; proud to languish at the soft cadence of effeminate notes, and to catch the graces of wanton deportment. Women of rank (*a*) studied the most lascivious characters. In the grove planted round the lake, where Augustus gave his naval engagement, booths and places of recreation were erected, to pamper luxury, and inflame desire. By the prince's orders sums of money were distributed. Good men, through motives of fear, accepted the donation; and to the profligate, whatever ministered to sensuality, was sure to be acceptable. Luxury and corruption triumphed.

The manners, it is true, had, long before this time, fallen into degeneracy ; but in these new assemblies a torrent of vice bore down every thing, beyond the example of former ages. Even in better days, when science and the liberal arts had not entirely lost their influence, virtue and modesty could scarce maintain their post ; but in an age, that openly professed every species of depravity, what stand could be made by truth, by innocence, or by modest merit ? The general corruption encouraged Nero to throw off all restraint. He mounted the stage, and became a public performer for the amusement of the people. With his harp in his hand, he entered the scene ; he tuned the chords with a graceful air, and with delicate flourishes gave a prelude to his art. He stood in a circle of his friends, a prætorian cohort on guard, and the tribunes and centurions near his person. Burrhus was also present, pleasure in his countenance, and anguish at his heart. He grieved, while he applauded. At this time was instituted a company of Roman knights under the title of THE AUGUSTAN SOCIETY (*b*), consisting of young men in the prime of life, some of them libertines from inclination, and others hoping by their profligacy to gain preferment. They attended, night and day, to applaud the prince ; they admired the graces of his person, and, in the various notes of that exquisite voice, they heard the melody of the gods, who were all excelled by the enchanting talents of the prince. The tribe of sycophants assumed airs of grandeur, swelling with self-importance, as if they were all rising to preferment by their genius and their virtue.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

XVI. THEATRICAL fame was not sufficient for the ambition of Nero : he wished to excel in poetry. All, who possessed the art of versification, were assembled to assist his studies. In this society of wits, young men, not yet qualified by their years to figure in the world, displayed the first essays of their genius.

BOOK
XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

They met in the dearest intimacy. Scraps of poetry, by different hands (*a*), were brought to the meeting, or composed on the spot; and those fragments, however unconnected, they endeavoured to weave into a regular poem, taking care to insert the words and phrases of the emperor, as the most brilliant ornaments of the piece. That this was their method, appears from a perusal of the several compositions, in which we see rhapsody without genius, verse without poetry, and nothing like the work of one creative fancy. Nor was philosophy disregarded by the emperor. At stated hours, when his convivial joys were finished, the professors of wisdom were admitted. Various systems were dogmatically supported; and to see the followers of different sects quarrel about an hypothesis was the amusement of Nero. He saw besides, among the venerable sages, some with formal mien and looks of austerity, who under an air of coyness plainly shewed that they relished the pleasures of a court.

XVII. ABOUT this time a dreadful fray broke out between the inhabitants of Nuceria (*a*) and Pompeii, two Italian colonies. The dispute, slight in the beginning, soon rose to violence, and terminated in blood. It happened that Livinius Regulus (*b*), who, as already mentioned, had been expelled the senate, gave a spectacle of gladiators. At this meeting jests and raillery, and the rough wit of country towns, flew about among the populace; abuse and scurrility followed; altercation excited anger; anger rose to fury; stones were thrown, and finally they had recourse to arms. The people of Pompeium, where the spectacle was given, were too strong for their adversaries. The Nucerians suffered in the conflict. Numbers of their friends, covered with wounds, were sent to Rome. Sons wept for their parents, and parents for their children. The senate, to whom the matter was referred by the prince, directed an enquiry before the

the consuls, and, upon their report, passed a decree, prohibiting, for the space of ten years, the like assemblies at Pompeium, and, moreover, dissolving certain societies established in that city, and incorporated contrary to law. Livineius and others, who appeared to be ring-leaders in the riot, were ordered into banishment.

B O O K
XIV.
A. U. C.
812.
A. D.
59.

XVIII. AT the suit of the Cyrenians, Pedius Blæfus (*a*) was expelled the senate. The charge against him was, that he had pillaged the sacred treasure of Æsculapius, and, in the business of lifting soldiers, had been guilty of receiving bribes, and committing various acts of gross partiality. A complaint was preferred by the same people against Acilius Strabo, a man of prætorian rank, who had been sent a commissioner by the emperor Claudius, with powers to ascertain the boundaries of the lands which formerly belonged to king Apion (*b*), and were by him bequeathed, with the rest of his dominions, to the Roman people. Various intruders had entered on the vacant possession, and from occupancy and length of time hoped to derive a legal title. The people, disappointed in their expectations, appealed from the sentence of Strabo. The senate, professing to know nothing of the commission granted by Claudius, referred the business to the decision of the prince. Nero ratified the award made by Strabo; but, to shew a mark of good will to the allies of Rome, he restored the lands in question to the persons, who had been dispossessed.

XIX. IN a short time after died Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two illustrious citizens, eminent for the civil honours which they attained, and not less distinguished by their eloquence. Afer had been a shining ornament of the bar: Servilius entered the same career, but having left the forum, gave a signal proof of his genius by a well digested history of Roman affairs.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

812.

A. D.

59.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

60.

affairs. Elegant in his life and manners, he formed a contrast to the rough character of Afer, to whom in point of genius he was every way equal, in probity and morals his superior (*a*).

XX. NERO entered on his fourth consulship, with Cornelius Cossus for his colleague. On the model of the Greek olympics, he instituted public games to be celebrated every fifth year, and, for that reason, called quinquennial (*a*). In this, as in all cases of innovation, the opinions of men were much at variance. By such as disliked the measure, it was observed, “that even
“Pompey, by building a permanent theatre (*b*), gave offence to
“the thinking men of that day. Before that period, an oc-
“casional theatre, with scenery and benches to serve the purpose,
“was deemed sufficient; and, if the enquiry were carried back
“to ancient times, it would be found that the spectators were
“obliged to stand during the whole representation. The reason
“was, that the people, accommodated with seats, might be
“tempted to waste whole days in idle amusements. Public
“spectacles were, indeed, of ancient origin, and, if still left to
“the direction of the prætor, might be exhibited with good
“order and propriety. But the new mode of pressing the citi-
“zens of Rome into the service of the stage had ruined all de-
“corum. The manners had long since degenerated, and now,
“to work their total subversion, luxury was called in from every
“quarter of the globe; foreign nations were ransacked for the
“incentives of vice; and, whatever was in itself corrupt, or
“capable of diffusing corruption, was to be found at Rome.
“Exotic customs and a foreign taste infected the young men of
“the time; dissipation, gymnastic arts, and infamous intrigues
“were the fashion, encouraged by the prince and the senate, and
“not only encouraged, but established by their sanction, en-
“forced by their authority.

“ Under

“ Under colour of promoting poetry and eloquence, the patri-
 “ cians of Rome disgraced themselves on the public stage. What
 “ further step remained? Nothing, but to bare their bodies; to
 “ anoint their limbs; to come forth naked in the lists; to wield
 “ the cæstus, and, throwing aside their military weapons, fight
 “ prizes for the entertainment of the rabble. Will the sanctity
 “ of the augur’s office, or the judicial character (*c*) of the Roman
 “ knights, edify by the manners now in vogue? Will the former
 “ be held in higher reverence, because he has been lately taught
 “ to thrill with ecstasy at the soft airs of an effeminate song?
 “ And will the judge decide with greater ability, because he
 “ affects to have a taste, and to pronounce on music? Vice
 “ goes on increasing; the night is added to the day; and, in
 “ mixed assemblies, the profligate libertine, under covert of the
 “ dark, may safely gratify the base desires, which his imagina-
 “ tion formed in the course of the day.”

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

60.

XXI. LICENTIOUS pleasure had a number of advocates; all
 of them the apologists of vice disguised under specious names.
 By these men it was argued, “ that the citizens of Rome, in the
 “ earliest period, were addicted to public shows, and the expence
 “ kept pace with the wealth of the times. Pantomime players (*a*)
 “ were brought from Tuscany, and horse-races (*b*) from Thu-
 “ rium. When Greece and Asia were reduced to subjection,
 “ the public games were exhibited with greater pomp; though
 “ it must be acknowledged, that in two hundred years (the time
 “ that elapsed from the triumph of Lucius Mummius (*c*), who
 “ first introduced theatrical representations) not one Roman
 “ citizen of rank or family was known to degrade himself by
 “ lifting in a troop of comedians. But it is also true, that, by
 “ erecting a permanent theatre, a great annual expence was
 “ avoided. The magistrate is now no longer obliged to ruin his
 “ private

BOOK
XIV.A. U. C.
513.
A. D.
62.

“ private fortune for the diversion of the public. The whole
 “ expenditure is transferred to the state, and, without encumber-
 “ ing a single individual, the people may enjoy the games of
 “ Greece. The contests between poets and orators would raise
 “ a spirit of emulation, and promote the cause of literature.
 “ Nor will the judge be disgraced, if he lends an ear to the
 “ productions of genius, and shares the pleasures of a liberal
 “ mind. In the quinquennial festival, lately instituted, a few
 “ nights, every fifth year, would be dedicated, not to criminal
 “ gratifications, but to social gaiety, in a place fitted for a large
 “ assembly, and illuminated with such a glare of light, that
 “ clandestine vice would by consequence be excluded.”

Such was the argument of the advocates for dissipation. It is but fair to acknowledge, that the celebration of the new festival was conducted without any offence against decency or good manners. Nor did the rage of the people for theatrical entertainments break out into any kind of excess. The pantomime performers, though restored to the theatre, were still excluded from such exhibitions as were held to be of a sacred nature. The prize of eloquence was not adjudged to any of the candidates; but it was thought a fit compliment to the emperor, to pronounce him conqueror. The Grecian garb, which was much in vogue during the festival, gave disgust, and from that time fell into disuse.

XXII. A COMET having appeared, in this juncture, that phænomenon, according to the popular opinion, announced that governments were to be changed, and kings dethroned. In the imaginations of men Nero was already deposed, and who should be his successor was the question. The name of Rubellius Plautus resounded in every quarter. By the maternal line this eminent

eminent citizen was of the Julian house. A strict observer of ancient manners, he maintained a rigid austerity of character. Recluse and virtuous in his family, he lived remote from danger, but his fame from the shade of obscurity shone forth with brighter lustre. The report of his elevation was confirmed by an accident, slight in itself, but by vulgar error received as a sure prognostic. While Nero was at table at a villa called *SUBLAQUEUM* (*a*), on the borders of the Simbruine lakes, it happened that the victuals, which had been served up, received a stroke of lightning, and the banquet was overturned. The place was on the confines of Tivoli, where the ancestors of Plautus by his father's side derived their origin. The omen, for that reason, made a deeper impression, and the current opinion was, that Plautus was intended for imperial sway. The men, whom bold, but often misguided, ambition leads to take an active part in revolutions of government, were all on his side. To suppress a rumour so important, and big with danger, Nero sent a letter to Plautus, advising him "to consult the public tranquillity, and withdraw himself from the reach of calumny. He had patrimonial lands in Asia, where he might pass his youth, remote from enemies, and undisturbed by faction." Plautus understood the hint, and with his wife, Antistia, and a few friends, embarked for Asia.

In a short time after, Nero, by his rage for new gratifications, put his life in danger, and drew on himself a load of obloquy. He chose to bathe at the fountain-head of the Marcian waters (*b*), which had been brought to Rome in an aqueduct of ancient structure. By this act of impurity he was thought to have polluted the sacred stream, and to have profaned the sanctity of the place. A fit of illness, which followed this frolic, left no

BOOK
XIV.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

60.

doubt in the minds of the populace. The gods, they thought, pursued with vengeance the author of so vile a sacrilege.

XXIII. We left Corbulo employed in the demolition of Artaxata (*a*). That city being reduced to ashes, he judged it right, while the consternation of the people was still recent, to turn his arms against Tigranocerta (*b*). The destruction of that city would spread a general panic; or, if he suffered it to remain unhurt, the fame of his clemency would add new laurels to the conqueror. He began his march, and, that the Barbarians might not be driven to despair, preserved every appearance of a pacific disposition, still maintaining discipline with the strictest rigour. He knew, by experience, that he had to do with a people prone to change; cowards in the hour of danger, but, if occasion offered, prepared, by their natural genius, for a stroke of perfidy. At the sight of the Roman eagles the Armenians were variously affected. They submitted with humble supplications; they fled from their villages; they took shelter in their woods; and numbers, carrying off all that was dear to them, sought a retreat in their dens and caverns. To these different movements the Roman general adapted his measures; to the submissive he behaved with mercy; he ordered the fugitives to be pursued with vigour, but for such as lay hid in subterraneous places he felt no compassion. Having filled the entrances, and every vent of the caverns, with bushes and faggots, he set fire to the heap. The Barbarians perished in the flames. His march lay on the frontier of the Mardians (*c*), a race of freebooters, who lived by depredation, secure on their hills and mountains from the assaults of the enemy. They poured down from their fastnesses, and insulted the Roman army. Corbulo sent a detachment of the Iberians to lay waste their country, and

thus:

thus at the expence of foreign auxiliaries, without spilling a drop of Roman blood, he punished the insolence of the enemy.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

6c.

XXIV. CORBULO had suffered no loss in the field of battle; but his men, exhausted by continual toil, and forced, for want of grain and vegetables, to subsist altogether on animal food, began to sink under their fatigue. The heat of the summer was intense; no water to allay their thirst; long and laborious marches still remained; and nothing to animate the drooping spirits of the army but the example of their general, who endured more than even the common soldiers. They reached, at length, a well cultivated country, and carried off a plentiful crop. The Armenians fled for shelter to two strong castles. One of them was taken by storm; the other, after resisting the first assault, was by a close blockade obliged to surrender. The army marched into the territories of the Tauranitians (*a*). In that country Corbulo narrowly escaped a snare laid for his life. A Barbarian, of high distinction among his people, was found lurking with a concealed dagger near the general's tent. He was instantly seized, and, being put to the rack, not only confessed himself the author of the plot, but discovered his accomplices. The villains, who, under a mask of friendship, meditated a foul assassination, were on examination found guilty of the treachery, and put to death. Ambassadors arrived soon after from Tigranocerta, with intelligence, that their gates stood open to receive the Roman army, and the inhabitants were ready to submit at discretion. As an earnest of hospitality and friendship they presented a golden crown. Corbulo received it with all marks of honour. To conciliate the affections of the people, he did no damage to their city, and left the natives in full possession of their effects.

BOOK
XIV.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

60.

XXV. THE royal citadel, which was considered as the strong hold of the Armenian kings, did not immediately surrender. A band of stout and resolute young men threw themselves into the place, determined to hold out to the last. They had the spirit to fall out, but, after a battle under the walls, were driven back within their lines, and, the Romans entering sword in hand, the garrison laid down their arms. This tide of success, however rapid, was in a great measure forwarded by the war, that kept the Parthians engaged in Hyrcania. From the last-mentioned country ambassadors had been sent to Rome, soliciting the alliance of the emperor, and, as an inducement, urging, that, in consequence of their rupture with Vologeses, they had made a powerful diversion in favour of the Roman army: the deputies, on their way back to their own country, had an interview with Corbulo. The general received them with marks of friendship, and fearing, if they passed over the Euphrates, that they might fall in with detached parties of the Parthian army, he ordered them to be escorted, under a military guard, as far as the margin of the Red-sea (*a*). From that place, their road was at a distance from the Parthian frontier.

XXVI. MEANWHILE, Tiridates (*a*), after a march through the territory of the Medians, was hovering on the extremities of Armenia, intending from that quarter to invade the country. To counteract his motions, Corbulo dispatched Verulanus with the auxiliary forces, and, to support him, made a forced march at the head of the legions. Tiridates retired with precipitation, and, in despair, abandoned the war. The Roman general proceeded with severity against all who were known to be disaffected: he carried fire and sword through their country, and took upon himself the government of Armenia. The whole kingdom

dom was reduced to subjection, when Tigranes arrived from Rome, by the appointment of Nero, to assume the regal diadem.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

60.

The new monarch was by birth a Cappadocian, of high nobility in that country, and grandson to king Archilaus (*b*); but the length of time which he had passed at Rome in the condition of a hostage broke the vigour of his mind, and sunk him to the meanest fervility. He was not received with the consent of the nation. A strong party still retained their old affection for the line of the Arsacides; but an inveterate antipathy to the Parthians, on account of their pride and arrogance, inclined the majority to accept a king from Rome. Corbulo placed Tigranes on the throne, and assigned him a body-guard, consisting of a thousand legionary soldiers, three cohorts from the allied forces, and two squadrons of horse. That his new kingdom might not prove unwieldy, parts of the country, as they happened to lie contiguous to the neighbouring princes, were parcelled out to Pharasmanes (*c*), to Polemon, Aristobulus, and Antiochus. Having made these arrangements, Corbulo marched back into Syria, to take upon him the administration of that province, vacant by the death of Ummidius Quadratus (*d*), the late governor.

XXVII. IN the course of the same year (*a*), Laodicea, a celebrated city in Asia, was destroyed by an earthquake, and though Rome in so great a calamity contributed no kind of aid, it was soon rebuilt, and, by the internal resources of the inhabitants, recovered its former splendour. In Italy, the ancient city of Puteoli received new privileges, with the title of the Neronian colony. The veteran soldiers, entitled to their discharge from the service, were incorporated with the citizens of Tarentum, and

BOOK
XIV.A. U. C.
813.
A. D.
69.

and Antium ; but the measure did not increase population in those deserted places. The soldiers rambled back to the provinces, where they had formerly served, and, by the habits of a military life, being little inclined to conjugal cares and the education of children, the greatest part mouldered away without issue. The old system of colonisation was at this time greatly altered. Entire legions were not, as had been the practice, settled together, with their tribunes, their centurions, and soldiers, in one regular body, forming a society of men known to each other, and by sentiments of mutual affection inclined to act with a spirit of union. A colony, at the time we speak of, was no more than a motley mixture, drawn together from different armies, without a chief at their head, without a principle to unite them, and, in fact, no better than a mere conflux of people from distant parts of the globe ; a wild heterogeneous multitude, but not a colony.

XXVIII. THE election of prætors had been hitherto subject to the discretion of the senate ; but the spirit of competition breaking out with unusual violence, Nero interposed his authority. He found three candidates more than usual. By giving to each the command of a legion (*a*) he allayed the ferment. He also made a considerable addition to the dignity of the senate by an ordinance, requiring that, in all appeals from an inferior judicature to that assembly, a sum equal (*b*) to what was customary in like cases before the emperor, should be deposited by the appellant, to wait the final determination. Before this rule was established, an appeal to the fathers was open to all, without being subject to costs, or any kind of penalty. Towards the end of the year, Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was accused by the Moors (*c*) of rapine and extortion, and, being found guilty of the charge, was banished out of Italy. For so mild a sentence

he

he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Vibius Crispus (*d*).

B O O K
XIV.

XXIX. DURING the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus (*a*), a dreadful calamity befel the army in Britain. Aulus Didius (*b*), as has been mentioned, aimed at no extension of territory, content with maintaining the conquest already made. Veranius, who succeeded him, did little more: he made a few incursions into the country of the Silures (*c*), and was hindered by death from prosecuting the war with vigour. He had been respected, during his life, for the severity of his manners; in his end, the mask fell off, and his last will discovered the low ambition of a fervile flatterer, who, in those moments, could offer incense to Nero, and add, with vain ostentation, that, if he lived two years, it was his design to make the whole island obedient to the authority of the prince. Paulinus Suetonius succeeded to the command; an officer of distinguished merit. To be compared with Corbulo was his ambition. His military talents gave him pretensions, and the voice of the people, who never leave exalted merit without a rival, raised him to the highest eminence. By subduing the mutinous spirit of the Britons he hoped to equal the brilliant success of Corbulo in Armenia. With this view, he resolved to subdue the isle of Mona (*d*); a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge for all the discontented Britons. In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and deceitful shore, he ordered a number of flat-bottomed boats to be constructed. In these he wafted over the infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording over the shallows, and partly by swimming their horses, advanced to gain a footing on the island.

A. U. C.
814.
A. D.
61.

XXX. ON the opposite shore stood the Britons, close embodied,

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

bodied, and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind, in their hands flaming torches, and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the furies. The Druids (*a*) were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The novelty of the sight struck the Romans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement, as if their limbs were benumbed, rivetted to one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general diffused new vigour through the ranks, and the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women, and a band of fanatic priests; they advanced their standards, and rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons perished in the flames, which they themselves had kindled. The island fell, and a garrison was established to retain it in subjection. The religious groves, dedicated to superstition and barbarous rites, were levelled to the ground. In those recesses, the natives imbrued their altars with the blood of their prisoners, and in the entrails of men explored the will of the gods. While Suetonius was employed in making his arrangements to secure the island, he received intelligence that Britain had revolted, and that the whole province was up in arms.

XXXI. PRASUTAGUS (*a*), the late king of the Icenians, in the course of a long reign had amassed considerable wealth. By his will he left the whole to his two daughters and the emperor in equal shares, conceiving, by that stroke of policy, that he should provide at once for the tranquillity of his kingdom and his family. The event was otherwise. His dominions were ravaged by the centurions; the slaves pillaged his house, and his effects were seized as lawful plunder. His wife,
Boadicea,

Boadicea, was disgraced with cruel stripes ; her daughters were ravished, and the most illustrious of the Icenians were, by force, deprived of the possessions which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. The whole country was considered as a legacy bequeathed to the plunderers. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. Exasperated by these acts of violence, and dreading worse calamities, the Icenians had recourse to arms. The Trinobantians joined in the revolt. The neighbouring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves, in secret councils, to stand forth in the cause of liberty. What chiefly fired their indignation was the conduct of the veterans, lately planted as a colony at Camalodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression ; they drove the natives from their habitations, and calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added insult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression, the veterans were supported by the common soldiers ; a set of men, by their habits of life, trained to licentiousness, and, in their turn, expecting to reap the same advantages. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eye of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests, appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To over-run a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

XXXII. WHILE the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of victory, erected at Camalodunum, fell from

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

its base, without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddess yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in restless ecstasy rushed among the people, and with frantic screams denounced impending ruin. In the council-chamber of the Romans (*a*) hideous clamours were heard in a foreign accent; savage howlings filled the theatre, and near the mouth of the Thames the image of a colony (*b*) in ruins was seen in the transparent water; the sea was purpled with blood, and, at the tide of ebb, the figures of human bodies were traced on the sand. By these appearances the Romans were sunk in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the mean time, was detained in the isle of Mona. In this alarming crisis, the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a reinforcement. Two hundred men, and those not completely armed, were all that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. But even for the defence of that place no measures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made; no palisade thrown up; nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by surprise, and, in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the Barbarians in one general assault. The colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

The temple held out, but, after a siege of two days, was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his entrenchments. Catus Decianus, the pro-

curator

curator of the province, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and further dreading the indignation of a people, whom by rapine and oppression he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over into Gaul.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

XXXIII. SÜETONIUS, undismayed by this disaster, marched through the heart of the country as far as London (*a*); a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce. At that place he meant to fix the seat of war; but reflecting on the scanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal rashness of Cerealis, he resolved to quit that station, and, by giving up one post, secure the rest of the province. Neither supplications, nor the tears of the inhabitants could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All who chose to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the rage of the Barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium (*b*), a municipal town, were in like manner put to the sword. The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder; and, accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of strength. Wherever they expected feeble resistance, and considerable booty, there they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage. Military skill was not the talent of Barbarians. The number massacred in the places which have been mentioned, amounted to no less than seventy thousand, all citizens or allies of Rome. To make prisoners, and reserve them for slavery, or to exchange them, was not in the idea of a people, who despised all the laws of war. The halter and the gibbet, slaughter and desolation, fire and sword, were the marks of savage valour. Aware that vengeance would overtake them, they

BOOK
XIV.A. U. C.
814.
A. D.
61.

were resolved to make sure of their revenge, and glut themselves with the blood of their enemies..

XXXIV. THE fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and the auxiliaries from the adjacent stations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little less than ten thousand men. Thus reinforced, he resolved, without loss of time, to bring on a decisive action.. For this purpose he chose a spot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest. In that situation he had no fear of an ambuscade. The enemy, he knew, had no approach but in front. An open plain lay before him. He drew up his men in the following order: the legions in close array formed the centre; the light armed troops were stationed at hand to serve as occasion might require: the cavalry took post in the wings. The Britons brought into the field an incredible multitude. They formed no regular line of battle. Detached parties and loose battalions displayed their numbers, in frantic transport bounding with exultation, and so sure of victory, that they placed their wives in waggons at the extremity of the plain, where they might survey the scene of action, and behold the wonders of British valour.

XXXV. BOADICEA (*a*), in a warlike car, with her two daughters before her, drove through the ranks. She harangued the different nations in their turn: “This,” she said, “is not
“the first time that the Britons have been led to battle by a
“woman. But now she did not come to boast the pride of a
“long line of ancestry, nor even to recover her kingdom and
“the plundered wealth of her family. She took the field, like
“the meanest among them, to assert the cause of public liberty,
“and to seek revenge for her body seamed with ignominious
“stripes,

“ stripes, and her two daughters infamously ravished. From the
 “ pride and arrogance of the Romans nothing is sacred ; all are
 “ subject to violation ; the old endure the scourge, and the vir-
 “ gins are deflowered. But the vindictive gods are now at
 “ hand. A Roman legion dared to face the warlike Britons :
 “ with their lives they paid for their rashness ; those who sur-
 “ vived the carnage of that day, lie poorly hid behind their en-
 “ trenchments, meditating nothing but how to save themselves
 “ by an ignominious flight. From the din of preparation, and
 “ the shouts of the British army, the Romans, even now, shrink
 “ back with terror. What will be their case when the assault
 “ begins ? Look round, and view your numbers. Behold the
 “ proud display of warlike spirits, and consider the motives for
 “ which we draw the avenging sword. On this spot we must
 “ either conquer, or die with glory. There is no alternative.
 “ Though a woman, my resolution is fixed : the men, if they
 “ please, may survive with infamy, and live in bondage.”

B O O K
XIV.
 A. U. C.
 814
 A. D.
 61.

XXXVI. SÜETONIUS, in a moment of such importance, did
 not remain silent. He expected every thing from the valour
 of his men, and yet urged every topic that could inspire and
 animate them to the attack. “ Despise,” he said, “ the savage
 “ uproar, the yells and shouts of undisciplined Barbarians. In
 “ that mixed multitude, the women out-number the men. Void
 “ of spirit, unprovided with arms, they are not soldiers who come
 “ to offer battle ; they are dastards, runaways, the refuse of your
 “ swords, who have often fled before you, and will again betake
 “ themselves to flight when they see the conqueror flaming in
 “ the ranks of war. In all engagements it is the valour of a
 “ few that turns the fortune of the day. It will be your im-
 “ mortal glory, that with a scanty number you can equal the
 “ exploits of a great and powerful army. Keep your ranks ;
 “ discharge

BOOK
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

“ discharge your javelins ; rush forward to a close attack ; bear
“ down all with your bucklers, and hew a passage with your
“ swords. Pursue the vanquished, and never think of spoil
“ and plunder. Conquer, and victory gives you every thing.”
This speech was received with warlike acclamations. The soldiers burned with impatience for the onset, the veterans brandished their javelins, and the ranks displayed such an intrepid countenance, that Suetonius, anticipating the victory, gave the signal for the charge.

XXXVII. THE engagement began. The Roman legion presented a close embodied line. The narrow defile gave them the shelter of a rampart. The Britons advanced with ferocity, and discharged their darts at random. In that instant, the Romans rushed forward in the form of a wedge. The auxiliaries followed with equal ardour. The cavalry, at the same time, bore down upon the enemy, and, with their pikes, overpowered all who dared to make a stand. The Britons betook themselves to flight, but their waggons in the rear obstructed their passage. A dreadful slaughter followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. The cattle, falling in one promiscuous carnage, added to the heaps of slain. The glory of the day was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times. According to some writers, not less than eighty thousand Britons were put to the sword. The Romans lost about four hundred men, and the wounded did not exceed that number. Boadicea, by a dose of poison, put a period to her life. Pænius Posthumus, præfect in the camp (*a*) of the second legion, as soon as he heard of the brave exploits of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, felt the disgrace of having, in disobedience to the orders of his general, robbed the soldiers under his command of their share in so complete

plete a victory. Stung with remorse, he fell upon his sword, and expired on the spot.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

XXXVIII. SÜETONIUS called in all his forces, and, having ordered them to pitch their tents, kept the field in readiness for new emergencies, intending not to close the campaign till he put an end to the war. By directions from the emperor a reinforcement of two thousand legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts (*a*), and a thousand horse, arrived from Germany. By this accession of strength the ninth legion was completed. The cohorts and cavalry were sent into new quarters, and the country round, wherever the people had declared open hostility, or were suspected of treachery, was laid waste with fire and sword. Famine was the evil that chiefly distressed the enemy: employed in warlike preparations, they had neglected the cultivation of their lands, depending altogether on the success of their arms, and the booty which they hoped to seize from the Romans. Fierce and determined in the cause of liberty, they were rendered still more obstinate by the misunderstanding that subsisted between the Roman generals. Julius Claufricianus had succeeded to the post vacant by the sudden flight of Catus Decianus. Being at variance with Suetonius, he did not scruple to sacrifice the public good to private animosity. He spread a report, that another commander in chief might be soon expected, and in him the Britons would find a man, who would bring with him neither ill will to the natives, nor the pride of victory. The vanquished would, by consequence, meet with moderation and humanity. Claufricianus did not stop here: in his dispatches to Rome, he pressed the necessity of recalling Suetonius. The war would, otherwise, never be brought to a conclusion by an officer, who owed all his disasters to his own want of conduct, and his success to the good fortune of the empire.

XXXIX. IN

BOOK
XIV.A. U. C.
814.
A. D.
61.

XXXIX. IN consequence of these complaints, Polycletus, one of the emperor's freedmen, was sent from Rome to inquire into the state of Britain. The weight and authority of such a messenger, Nero flattered himself, would produce a reconciliation between the hostile generals, and dispose the Britons to a more pacific temper. Polycletus set out with a large retinue, and, on his journey through Italy and Gaul, made his grandeur a burthen to the people. On his arrival in Britain he overawed the Roman soldiers; but his magnificent airs and assumed importance met with nothing from the Britons but contempt and derision. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the natives, the flame of liberty was not extinguished. The exorbitant power of a manumitted slave was a novelty which those ferocious islanders could not digest. They saw an army that fought with valour, and a general who led them on to victory; but both were obliged to wait the nod of a wretched bondsman. In the report made by this man the state of affairs was such as gave no jealousy to Nero. Suetonius, therefore, was continued in his government. It happened, in a short time afterwards, that a few ships were wrecked on the coast, and all on board perished in the waves. This was considered as a calamity of war, and, on that account, Suetonius was recalled. Petronius Turpilianus, whose consulship had just then expired, succeeded to the command. Under him a languid state of tranquillity followed. The general saw the passive disposition of the Britons, and not to provoke hostilities was the rule of his conduct. He remained inactive, content to decorate his want of enterprise with the name of peace.

XL. THIS year was remarkable for two atrocious crimes; one, the act of a senator, and the other perpetrated by the daring spirit of a slave. Domitius Balbus, of prætorian rank, was, at that time,

time, far advanced in years. His wealth, and his want of issue, made him obnoxious to the arts of ill-designing men. His relation, Valerius Fabianus, a man high in rank, and likely to obtain the first honours of the state, forged his will. To give colour to the fraud, he drew into his plot Vincius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, two Roman knights, who chose to act in concert with Antonius Primus (*a*) and Asinius Marcellus. Antonius was a prompt and daring spirit, ready for any mischief. Marcellus was grandson to the renowned Asinius Pollio: his character was, till that time, without a stain; but his favourite maxim was, that poverty (*b*) is the worst of evils. In the presence of those conspirators, and other witnesses of inferior note, Fabianus sealed the will. The fraud being brought to light before the senate, the author of it, with three of his accomplices, namely, Antonius, Rufinus, and Terentius, were condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian law (*c*). Marcellus found in the favour of the prince, and the dignity of his ancestors, a powerful protection. He was saved from punishment, not from infamy.

B. O. O. K.
XIV.

A. U. C.
814.
A. D.
61.

XLI. THE same day was fatal to two others of rank and distinction. Pompeius Ælianus, a young man who had already passed with honour through the office of quæstor, was charged as an accessory in the guilt of Fabianus. He was banished, not only from Italy, but from Spain, the place of his birth. Valerius Ponticus met with equal severity. The crime alleged against him was, that, with a design to elude the jurisdiction of the præfect of Rome, he had accused several delinquents before the prætor; intending, in the first instance, under colour of a legal process, and afterwards, by abandoning the prosecution, to defeat the ends of justice. The fathers added a clause to their decree, whereby all persons concerned either in procuring or conducting

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
814.
A. D.
61.

for hire a collusive action, were to be treated as public prevaricators (*a*), and to suffer the pains and penalties inflicted by the law on such as stood convicted of a false and calumnious accusation.

XLII. THE second daring crime that marked the year, as mentioned above, was the act of a slave. This man murdered his master, Pedanius Secundus, at that time præfect of the city. His motive for this desperate act was either because his liberty, after a bargain made (*a*), was still withheld, or being enamoured of a foreign pathic, he could not endure his master as his rival. Every slave in the family where the murder was committed, was by ancient usage subject to capital punishment; but the populace, touched with compassion for so many innocent men, opposed the execution with rage and tumult little short of a seditious insurrection. In the senate many of the fathers embraced the popular side, but the majority declared for the rigour of the law without innovation. In the debate on this occasion (*b*), Caius Cassius spoke to the following effect:

XLIII. " I HAVE been often present, conscript fathers, when
 " motions have been made in this assembly for new decrees,
 " repugnant of the laws in being, and utterly subversive of all
 " ancient establishments. To those measures I made no opposition,
 " though well convinced, that the regulations made by
 " our ancestors were the best, the wisest, the most conducive
 " to the public good. To change that system is to change for
 " the worse. This has ever been my settled opinion; but I
 " forbore to take a part in your debates, that I might not be
 " thought bigoted either to antiquity, or to my own way of
 " thinking. I had another reason for my conduct. The weight
 " and influence which I flattered myself I had acquired in this
 " assembly,

“ assembly, might, by frequently troubling you, lose its effect.
 “ I determined, therefore, to reserve myself for some important
 “ conjuncture, when my feeble voice might be of use. That
 “ conjuncture occurs this very day. A man of consular rank,
 “ without a friend to assist him, without any one person to op-
 “ pose the ruffian’s blow, no notice given, no discovery made,
 “ has been in his own house barbarously murdered. The law
 “ which dooms every slave under the roof to execution, is still
 “ in force. Repeal that law, and, if you will, let this horrible
 “ deed pass with impunity ; but when you have done it, which
 “ of us can think himself safe ? Who can depend on his rank
 “ or dignity, when the first magistrate of your city dies under
 “ the assassin’s stroke ? Who can hope to live in security amongst
 “ his slaves, when so large a number as four hundred could not
 “ defend Pedanius Secundus ? Will our domestics assist us in
 “ the hour of need, when we see, in the instance before us, that
 “ neither their own danger nor the terrors of the law could
 “ induce them to protect their master ? Will it be said that the
 “ murderer struck his blow to revenge a personal injury ? What
 “ was the injury ? The paternal estate of a ruffian, perhaps, was
 “ in danger ; or the foreign pathic, whom they were going to
 “ ravish from him, descended to him from his ancestors. If
 “ that be so, the deed was lawful, and, by consequence, we,
 “ conscript fathers, ought to pronounce it justifiable homicide.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

XLIV. “ BUT let me ask you ; are we, at this time of day,
 “ to support by argument, what has been long settled by the
 “ wisdom of ages ? Suppose the point in dispute were a new
 “ question, to be now decided for the first time : can we ima-
 “ gine that a ruffian, who had formed a black design to murder
 “ his master, kept the whole so closely locked up in his breast,
 “ that, in the agitations of a guilty mind, nothing escaped from

BOOK

XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

“ him? Not a menace, not so much as a rash word to give the
 “ alarm? Nothing, we are told, of this sort happened; we are
 “ to believe that the assassin brooded over his horrible purpose
 “ in fullen silence; that he prepared his dagger unseen by every
 “ eye, and that his fellow-slaves knew nothing of it. Be it so:
 “ did he pass unseen through the train of attendants that guarded
 “ the bed-chamber? Did he open the door unperceived by all?
 “ Did he enter with a light, and strike the mortal blow, without
 “ the knowledge of any person whatever?

“ Between the first design, and the final execution of evil deeds,
 “ symptoms of guilt are often seen. If our slaves are faithful,
 “ if they give timely intelligence, we may live secure in our
 “ houses; or if we must fall by the murderer’s dagger, it is a
 “ satisfaction to know, that justice will overtake the guilty.
 “ The mind and temper of the slave, though born on the
 “ master’s estate, or even in his house, imbibing with his first
 “ milk affection and gratitude to the family, were always sus-
 “ pected by our ancestors. At present, we have in our service
 “ whole nations of slaves; the scum of mankind, collected from
 “ all quarters of the globe; a race of men, who bring with them
 “ foreign rites, and the religion of their country, or, probably,
 “ no religion at all. In such a conflux, if the laws are silent,
 “ what protection remains for the master? But, it is said, the
 “ innocent may suffer with the guilty. To this I answer, when
 “ an army, seized with a general panic, turns its back on the
 “ enemy, and, to restore military discipline, the men are drawn
 “ out and decimated; what distinction is then made between
 “ the gallant soldier and the coward, who fled from his post? In
 “ political justice there is often something not strictly right:
 “ but partial evil is counterbalanced by the good of the
 “ whole.”

XLV. To

XLV. TO this reasoning no reply was made, and yet a murmur of disapprobation ran through the assembly. The number doomed to suffer, their age, their sex, and the undoubted innocence of the greatest part, awakened sentiments of compassion; but the majority was for letting the law-*(a)* take its course. Their opinion prevailed. The popular cry was still for mercy. The rabble rose in a tumultuous body, and with stones and firebrands stopped the execution. To quell their fury, Nero issued a proclamation, and by his order the streets were lined with soldiers under arms. The unhappy victims suffered death. Cingonius Varro moved, that even the freedmen, who were actually in the house at the time of the murder, should, by a decree of the senate, be banished out of Italy. To this Nero answered, that, since mercy was not allowed to mitigate the system of ancient laws, to increase their rigour by new pains and penalties, would be an act of cruelty.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

65.

XLVI. DURING the same consulship, Tarquitiuſ Priscuſ, at the ſuit of the people of Bithynia, was convicted of extortion, and condemned to make reſtitution. The ſenate remembered the violence of this man in the proſecution againſt Statiliuſ Tauruſ *(a)*, hiſ own proconſul in Africa, and now retaliated with a vindictive ſpirit. The people in both the Gauls were reviewed and rated by Quintuſ Voluſiuſ, Sextiuſ Africanuſ, and Trebelliuſ Maximuſ. The two former, elate with family-pride, paſſed their time in mutual jealouſy, thwarting each other, and ſtruggling for pre-eminence. They looked down with contempt on Trebelliuſ; but their petty animoſities ſerved only to degrade themſelves, and give to their colleague a decided ſuperiority.

XLVII. IN the courſe of this year died Memmiuſ Reguluſ, diſtinguiſhed by hiſ virtues, and hiſ unblemiſhed character.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

814.

A. D.

61.

Admired for his constancy and unshaken firmness, he rose to as high a pitch of credit and authority, as can be attained under a government, where the grandeur of the prince throws a shade over the merit of every private citizen. As a proof of this, we have the following anecdote. Nero being confined with a fit of illness, the tribe of sycophants, fluttering about his person, poured forth the anguish of their hearts, and, "if any thing happened to the emperor, the day," they said, "that put a period to his life, would be the last of the empire." "No," replied the prince, "a pillar of the state will still remain." The courtiers stood at gaze, wondering who that person could be; Nero told them, "Memmius Regulus is the man." Strange as it may seem, Regulus survived that opinion of his virtue. In his love of retirement he found a retreat from danger. A man, whose family had lately risen to honours, gave no alarm; and his fortune raised no envy. It was in the same year that Nero dedicated a gymnasium (*a*), or public school for athletic exercises, and, with the obliging facility of Greek manners, gave orders that the senators and Roman knights, without any expence on their part, should be provided with oil, to prepare their limbs for that elegant exhibition.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

XLVIII. DURING the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Asinius, a prosecution was set on foot against Antistius, then invested with the office of prætor. The conduct of this man, when tribune of the people (*a*), has been already mentioned. The charge against him was, that being the author of sarcastic verses against the emperor, he produced his poem to a large company at the table of Ostorius Scapula. For this libel he was arraigned on the law of majesty. The cause was conducted by Cossutianus Capito (*b*), who had been lately raised, by the interest of Tigellinus, his father-in-law, to the senatorian order. The law

law of majesty had fallen into disuse, and was now revived, for the first time in the reign of Nero, not, as was imagined, to make Antistius feel its severity, but, in fact, to give the emperor an opportunity, after judgment of death was passed, to interpose his tribunitian (*c*) authority, and, by preventing the execution, add new lustre to his name. Ostorius Scapula was called as a witness. He remembered nothing of the verses in question. The evidence of others was believed, and, thereupon, Junius Marcellus, consul elect, moved, that the criminal, divested in the first instance of his prætorship, should suffer death according to the laws in force (*d*), and the practice under former emperors. The rest of the senate concurring in the same opinion, Pætus Thrasea rose to oppose the motion. He began with honourable mention of the prince, nor did he take upon him to defend the conduct of Antistius. On the contrary, he blamed the licentious spirit of the man in terms of severity; but under a virtuous emperor, and, in a senate left to act with independance, the question, he said, was not the magnitude of the crime, nor what punishment the rigour of the law would warrant. The executioner, the gibbet, and the halter were, for some time, unknown at Rome. Other pains and penalties were provided by law, and those might be inflicted, without branding the judges with cruelty, and the age with infamy. Antistius may be condemned to banishment; his effects may be confiscated. Let him pass the remainder of his days in one of the islands. His life, in that situation, will be protracted misery. He will there continue to languish in exile, a burthen to himself, yet a living monument of the equity and moderation of the times.

B O O K
XIV.
A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

XLIX. THE firmness with which Thrasea delivered his sentiments inspired the senate with the same ardour. The consul put the question, and the fathers divided (*a*). The majority voted with Thrasea. The dissentients were but a small number.

Amongst

BOOK
XIV.

A. U. C.

515.

A. D.

62.

Amongst them was Aulus Vitellius (*b*), of all the flattering crew, the most corrupt and servile; fluent in invective; eager to attack the most eminent characters, and ever sure, with the confusion of a little mind, to shrink from the reply. He heard his adversary with silent patience. The consuls, however, did not presume to close the business by a decree in form: they chose to make their report to the emperor, and wait his pleasure. Nero, for some time, balanced between shame and resentment. At length, his answer was, "That Antistius, without provocation, or any cause of complaint, had distilled the venom of his pen on the name and character of his sovereign. The matter had been referred to the senate, and justice required a punishment adequate to the crime. Nevertheless, as it had been from the first his resolution to mitigate a rigorous sentence, he would not now controul the moderation of the fathers. They might determine, as to their wisdom should seem meet. They were even at liberty to acquit the criminal altogether." From this answer it was evident, that the conduct of the senate had given offence at court. The consuls, however, were not inclined to alter their report. Thrasea maintained his former opinion, and all who had voted with him followed his example. Some were unwilling, by a change of sentiment, to expose the prince to the popular odium; others thought themselves safe in a large majority; and Thrasea, with his usual elevation of mind, would not recede from the dignity of his character.

L. ON a charge of the same complexion as the former, Fabricius Veiento (*a*) was involved in similar danger. In certain writings, which he called the LAST WILLS of persons deceased, he had inserted strokes of satire reflecting on several members of the senate, and others of the sacerdotal order. Tullius Geminus was the prosecutor. He added another allegation, charging, that the criminal

minal abused his credit at court, and disposed of the favours of the prince, and the honours of the state, by bargain and sale, for his own private emolument. This last article roused the resentment of Nero; he removed the cause to his own tribunal. Veiento was banished out of Italy. His books were condemned to the flames, but eagerly sought, and universally read. Men perused with avidity what was procured with danger. When no longer prohibited, the work sunk into oblivion.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

LI. MEANWHILE, the public grievances went on with increasing violence, and the means of redress diminished every day. Burrhus died at this time, whether in the course of nature, or by poison, cannot now be known. The general opinion ascribed his death to a fit of illness. He was seized with a disorder in the throat, and the inflammation in the glands swelling to a prodigious size, suffocation followed. There was, however, a current report, that, under a pretence of administering a proper gargle, poison was mixed in the medicine, by order of Nero, and that Burrhus, having discovered the villany, as soon as he perceived the prince entering his room, turned from him with aversion, and to all enquiries shortly answered, "I am well at present." He died universally lamented. His virtues were long remembered, and long regretted. Nor was the public grief alleviated by the two persons, who succeeded to his employments, namely Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus (*a*), the former a man of undoubted innocence, but the innocence that proceeds from want of spirit. Tigellinus stood distinguished by a life of debauchery, and the infamy of his character. Rufus owed his advancement to the voice of the people, who were pleased with his upright management of the public stores. Tigellinus was a favourite of the emperor. The early vices of the man recommended him to notice. The command of the prætorian guards,

B O O K
XIV.A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

which had been entrusted to Burrhus only, was granted to those two by a joint commission. The impression, which they had given of their characters, was confirmed by their conduct in office. Tigellinus gained an absolute ascendant over the mind of a debauched and profligate emperor. In all scenes of revelry he was a constant companion. Rufus obtained the good-will of the soldiers and the people, but his merit ruined him with the prince.

LII. By the death of Burrhus, Seneca lost the chief support of his power. The friend of upright measures was snatched away, and virtue could no longer make head against the corruption of a court, governed altogether by the vile and profligate. By that set of men Seneca was undermined. They blackened his character, and loaded him with various imputations. “ His wealth
“ was exorbitant, above the condition of a private citizen ; and
“ yet his unappeasable avarice went on without intermission,
“ every day grasping at more. His rage for popularity was no
“ less violent. He courted the affections of the people, and by
“ the grandeur of his villas, and the beauty of his gardens, hoped
“ to vie with imperial splendour. In matters of taste and genius
“ he allows no rival. He claims the whole province of eloquence
“ as his own ; and since Nero shewed his taste for poetry, from
“ that moment Seneca began to court the muse (*a*), and he too
“ has his copy of verses.

“ To the other diversions of the prince he is an avowed, an
“ open enemy. The skill of the charioteer provokes his raillery ;
“ he sneers at the management of horses ; and the melody of the
“ prince’s voice is a subject for his wit and ridicule. In all this
“ what is his drift ? Why truly, that, in the whole extent of the
“ empire, there should be nothing worthy of praise but what
“ flows from his superior talents. But Nero is no longer the pu-
“ pil

“ pil of this subtle philosopher ; he has attained the prime season
 “ of manhood, and may now discard his tutor. He has before
 “ his eyes the brightest model for his conduct, the example of
 “ his own illustrious ancestors.”

B O O K
 XIV.

A. U. C.
 815.
 A. D.
 62.

LIII. THESE insidious arts were not unknown to Seneca. There were still at court a few in the interests of virtue, and from such men he received intelligence of all that passed. Finding that the prince had withdrawn his friendship, and no longer admitted him to his conversation, he demanded an audience, and spoke to the following effect: “ It is now, Cæsar, the fourteenth year, since
 “ I was placed near your person ; of your reign it is the eighth.
 “ In that space of time you have lavished upon me both wealth
 “ and honours, with so liberal an hand, that to complete my
 “ happiness nothing now is necessary but moderation and contentment. In the humble request, which I presume to make,
 “ I shall take the liberty to cite a few examples, far, indeed, above
 “ my condition, but worthy of you. Augustus, your illustrious
 “ ancestor, permitted Marcus Agrippa to retire to Mitylene (*a*) ;
 “ he allowed Mæcenus to live almost a stranger in Rome, and in
 “ the heart of the city (*b*) to dwell as it were in solitude. The
 “ former of those illustrious men had been the companion of his
 “ wars ; the latter supported the weight of his administration :
 “ both, it is true, received ample rewards, but rewards fairly
 “ earned by great and eminent services. For myself, if you except some attainments in literature, the fruit of studies pursued
 “ in the shade of retirement, what merit can I assume ? My feeble
 “ talents are supposed to have seasoned your mind with the first
 “ tincture of letters, and that honour is beyond all recompense.

“ But your liberality knows no bounds. You have loaded me
 “ with favours, and with riches. When I reflect on your gene-

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

“rosity, I say to myself, Shall a man of my level, without family
“pretensions, the son of a simple knight, born in a distant pro-
“vince (*c*), presume to rank with the grandees of Rome? My
“name, the name of a new man, figures among those who boast
“a long and splendid line of ancestors. Where is now the mind,
“which long since knew, that to be content with little is true happi-
“ness? The philosopher is employed in laying out gardens (*d*),
“and improving pleasure-grounds. He delights in the extent of
“ample villas; he enjoys a large rent-roll, and has sums of
“money (*e*) laid out at interest. I have but one apology; your
“munificence was a command, and it was not for me to
“resist.

LIV. “But the measure of generosity on your part, and sub-
“mission on mine, is now complete. What a prince could give, you
“have bestowed: what a friend could take, I have received. More
“will only serve to irritate envy, and inflame the malice of my
“enemies. You indeed tower above the passions of ill designing
“men; I am open to their attacks; I stand in need of protection.
“In a campaign, or on a march, if I found myself fatigued and
“worn out with toil, I should not hesitate to sue for some indul-
“gence. Life is a state of warfare; it is a long campaign, in
“which a man in years, sinking under a load of cares, and even
“by his riches made obnoxious, may crave leave to retire. I am
“willing to resign my wealth: let the auditors of the imperial
“revenue take the account, and let the whole return to its foun-
“tain-head. By this act of self-denial I shall not be reduced to
“poverty; I shall part with that superfluity which glitters in
“the eyes of my enemies; and for the rest, the time, which is
“spent in the improving of gardens, and the embellishing of
“villas, I shall transfer to myself, and for the future lay it out in
“the cultivation of my mind. You are in the vigour of your
“days;

“ days ; a long train of years lies before you. In full possession of
 “ the sovereign power you have learned the art of reigning. Old
 “ age may be permitted to seek repose. It will, hereafter, be
 “ your glory, that you knew how to choose men of moderation,
 “ who could descend from the summit of fortune, to dwell with
 “ peace and humble content in the vale of life.”

B O O K
 XIV.
 A. U. C.
 815.
 A. D.
 62.

LV. NERO replied as follows : “ If I give an immediate answer
 “ to a speech of prepared eloquence, the power of doing it I derive
 “ from you. The faculty of speaking, not only when the matter
 “ has been premeditated, but also on sudden occasions, I possess
 “ (if I do possess it) by your care and instruction. Augustus, it
 “ is true, released Agrippa and Mæcenas from the fatigue of busi-
 “ ness ; but he did it, at a time, when his authority was established
 “ on the firmest basis, and his own experience was equal to the
 “ cares of government. He did not, however, resume the grants
 “ which he had made. What those eminent citizens obtained,
 “ they deserved in war and civil commotions ; for in those busy
 “ scenes Augustus passed his youth. Had my lot been the same,
 “ your sword would not have been idle. What the conjuncture
 “ demanded, you supplied ; you formed my mind to science, and
 “ you assisted me with your wisdom and advice. The advan-
 “ tages which I derive from you are not of a perishable nature ;
 “ they will cleave to me through life. As to the favours which
 “ it was in my power to grant, such as houses, gardens, and sums
 “ of money, they are precarious gifts, subject to accidents and
 “ the caprice of fortune. Presents of that kind may seem magni-
 “ ficent ; but they fall short of what I have bestowed on others,
 “ who had neither your accomplishments, nor your merit. I
 “ could mention freedmen, who flourish in higher splendour ;
 “ but I blush to name them. I blush, that you, who are the first
 “ in

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

“ in my esteem, should not, at the same time, be the first man
“ in my dominions.

LVI. “ I GRANT that you are advanced in years, but the vi-
“ gour of your constitution is still unbroken. You are equal to
“ business, and the fruit of your labours you can still enjoy. My
“ reign is but just begun ; and what has been my liberality ? Vi-
“ tellius was three times consul (*a*), and Claudius was his friend :
“ are you to be deemed inferior to the former ? and must I, in
“ point of munificence, yield to the latter ? Volusius (*b*), by a
“ long life of parsimony, raised an immoderate fortune ; and shall
“ not my generosity put you on a level with a man of that de-
“ scription ? The impetuosity of youth may hurry me beyond the
“ bounds of prudence : it will then be yours to recal my wander-
“ ing steps, and lead me to the paths of honour. You helped to
“ form my youthful understanding, and to what you polished
“ you still can give life and energy. If you resign your wealth,
“ can you suppose that your moderation will be deemed the
“ cause ? If you desert your prince, will your love of quiet be
“ thought the motive ? Far otherwise : my avarice will be ar-
“ raigned ; my cruelty will be the general topic. The praise,
“ indeed, of wisdom may pursue you in your retreat ; but will it
“ be generous to build your fame on the disgrace and ruin of
“ your friend ?”

To this flattering speech Nero added fond embraces, and all the
external marks of affection. Inclined by nature to disguise his
sentiments, and by habit exercised in the arts of dissimulation,
he knew how to hide under the surface of friendship the secret
malice of his heart. Seneca answered in a submissive tone. He
returned his best thanks, the usual close of every conference in
the

the cabinet of the prince. He resolved, however, to change his mode of living: he resigned his power, and retained no appearance of his former splendour; the crowd of visitors no longer frequented his house; he dismissed his train of followers, and but rarely appeared abroad, willing to be considered as an infirm old man, obliged to take care of his health at home, or a philosopher, absorbed in abstract speculations.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

LVII. SENECA's influence was now in its wane. To ruin the credit of Fenius Rufus was the next object. In this his enemies found no difficulty. The crime of being attached to Agrippina was sufficient. Tigellinus, in the mean time, rose to the highest pitch of credit and influence at court. Possessing a genius for every mischief, and having no other talents, he resolved to draw the prince into a confederacy in guilt. Congenial vices, he had no doubt, would render him still more dear to his master. With this view he began to watch the passions of Nero, and to explore the secrets of his heart. He found that the two persons whom the emperor dreaded most were Plautus (*a*) and Sylla; both lately removed out of Italy; the former into Asia, and the latter to Narbon Gaul. Tigellinus began his secret hostilities against them both. He talked of their rank and high descent. Plautus, he observed, was not far distant from the armies in the east; and Sylla was near the legions in Germany. For himself, he had not, like Burrhus, the art of managing parties for his own private advantage. The welfare of his sovereign was his only object. At Rome, he could ensure the safety of the prince. If plots were formed, by vigilance and activity they might be crushed in the bud. But for distant provinces who could answer? The name of Sylla, rendered famous by the celebrated dictator of that name, would rouse and animate the people of Gaul. In Asia the grandson of Drusus (*b*) would have

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

215.

A. D.

61.

have a number of adherents, and might, by consequence, excite the nations to a revolt. Sylla, indeed, was indigent and distressed: but his very poverty would be a source of courage, a motive for vigorous enterprise; and though he seemed to languish in repose and indolence, his love of ease was a cloak to cover his ambition. He waited for an opportunity to avow his dark designs.

Plautus, on the other hand, possessed immoderate wealth. To lead a sluggish life was not in his temper or his character: he did not even affect it. He copied, with emulation, the manners of the ancient Romans, and to his austerity added the maxims of the stoic sect: a sect at all times fond of public commotions, proud, fierce, and turbulent. By this reasoning Nero was convinced. No delay intervened. Assassins were dispatched. On the sixth day they landed at Marseilles, where, without notice, or so much as a hint to alarm him, Sylla was taken by surprise at his own table, and instantly murdered. His head was conveyed to Rome. Nero amused himself with the sight; he saw that the hairs were grown grey before their time, and in that circumstance found a subject for mirth and brutal raillery.

LVIII. THE murder of Plautus could not be executed with equal secrecy. His friends were numerous, and his life was valuable to many. The place lay remote; a voyage was to be performed, and, in the mean time, the plot began to transpire. A report prevailed at Rome, that Plautus had put himself under the protection of Corbulo, who was then at the head of powerful armies; a man, in that evil period, when merit and innocence were capital crimes, likely to fall a devoted victim. The rumour further added, that in favour of Plautus all Asia was up in arms, and that the ruffians sent from Rome had either failed

failed in their resolution, or, not finding themselves in force, had gone over to the opposite party. The whole story was without foundation; but, according to custom, credulity swallowed it, and idle men added from their own invention. Plautus, in the mean time, received intelligence of the design against his life by one of his freedmen, who, having the advantage of a fair wind, got the start of the centurions dispatched by Nero. This faithful servant was sent by Lucius Antistius, his master's father-in-law, with advice, that no time was to be lost. In such a crisis, sloth would ill become a man whose life was in danger. To fall a tame and passive victim were to die an ignominious death. He had but to exert his most strenuous efforts, and good men, touched with compassion, would espouse his cause. The bold and turbulent would be sure to join him. Nothing should be left untried. It was only necessary to defeat sixty men (for that was the number employed in this bloody tragedy): before Nero could receive intelligence, and dispatch another band of ruffians, there would be time to concert bold and vigorous measures. The flame of war might be kindled all over Asia, and, by this resolute conduct, he might save his life. At the worst, by daring bravely, his case would not be more desperate. Courage might suffer, but it could not suffer more than cowardice.

B O O K
XIV.A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

LIX. THIS spirited advice had no effect on Plautus. Banned from his country, without arms, or any means of defence, he saw no gleam of hope, and was, therefore, unwilling to be the dupe of visionary schemes. Perhaps his affection for his wife and children softened and disarmed his mind. The emperor, if not exasperated by resistance, he imagined, would act with lenity towards his unhappy family. According to some historians, the advice sent by Antistius was of a different tendency, importing that there was no danger to alarm him. We are

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

61.

further told, that, by the exhortations of two philosophers, by name Cæranus (*a*), a Greek by birth, and Musonius, of Tuscan origin, he had been taught that, though life is a series of toil, and danger, and calamity, to wait with patience till the stroke of death delivered him from a scene of misery, would be heroic fortitude. Thus much is certain, he was surprised by the assassins in the middle of the day, disarmed and naked, attending to the refreshment and exercise of his body.

In that condition a centurion dispatched him, while Pelagon, one of the eunuchs, stood a spectator of the tragic scene. This wretch was sent by Nero to superintend the ruffians, like the minister of a despotic prince, placed over the guards and tools of iniquity to see his master's orders strictly executed. The head of the deceased was carried to Rome. At the sight of the dismal object the emperor cried out (I give his very words), "Nero, now you may safely marry Poppæa. What obstacle remains to defer a match, long intended, and often deferred on account of this very Plautus, and men of his description? Octavia may be divorced without delay: her conduct, it is true, has been blameless, but the imperial name of her father (*b*), and the esteem of the people, have made her in my eyes an object of terror and detestation." Having thus fortified his mind, he dispatched a letter to the senate, written in guarded terms, without so much as glancing at the murder of Sylla and Plautus. He mentioned them both, charging them with seditious machinations, by which he himself was kept in a constant alarm, lest some dreadful convulsion should, by their means, shake the empire to its foundation. The fathers decreed public vows and supplications to the gods. Sylla and Plautus, though no longer in being, were expelled the senate; and with this mockery,

mockery, to every good mind more grievous than the worst oppression, the people were amused and insulted.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

LX. NERO finding, by the slavish tenor of the decree, that the fathers were willing to transform his vices into virtues, resolved to balance no longer. He repudiated Octavia, alleging her sterility for his reason, and immediately married Poppæa. This woman, some time the concubine of the emperor, and now his wife, continued to govern him with unbounded sway. Not content with her new dignity, she suborned a domestic servant of Octavia to charge his mistress with a dishonourable intrigue with one of her slaves. For this purpose they chose for the pretended adulterer a man of the name of Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, remarkable for his skill on the flute. The female servants were put to the torture. Some of them, overcome by pain and agony, confessed whatever was demanded of them; but the greatest part persevered, with constancy, to vindicate the honour of their mistress. Tigellinus stood near at hand, pressing them with questions. One of them had the spirit to answer, "The person of Octavia is freer from pollution than your mouth." Sentence was pronounced against Octavia. With no more ceremony than what is usual among citizens of ordinary rank, she was dismissed from the palace. The house of Burrhus, and the estates of Plautus, two fatal presents! were allotted for her separate use. She was soon after banished to Campania, under a military guard. Murmurs of discontent were heard in every quarter of Rome. The common people spoke out without reserve. To rules of caution and political wisdom their rough manners made them strangers, and the meanness of their condition left them nothing to fear. Their clamours were so loud and violent, that Nero gave orders to recall Octavia, but without affection, and without remorse.

BOOK

XIV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

LXI. THE populace, transported with joy by this event, pressed in crowds to the capitol, to offer up their thanks to the gods. The statues of Poppæa were dashed to the ground, while those of Octavia, adorned with wreaths of flowers, were carried in triumph on men's shoulders, and placed in the forum and in the temples. The multitude went in a tumultuous body to greet the emperor; they surrounded his palace; they desired him to come forth and receive their congratulations. A band of soldiers rushed forth sword in hand, and obliged the crowd to disperse. Whatever was pulled down during the riot, was restored to its place, and the statues of Poppæa were once more erected. But her malice to Octavia was not to be appeased. To inveterate hatred she added her dread of a popular insurrection, in consequence of which, Nero might be compelled to renounce his passion for her person.

She threw herself at his feet: "I am not now," she said, "in a situation to contend for our nuptial union, though dearer to me than life itself. But my life is in danger. The slaves and followers of Octavia, calling their own clamour the voice of the people, have committed, in a time of profound peace, public outrages little short of open rebellion. They are in arms against their sovereign. They want nothing but a leader, and, in civil commotions, that want is soon supplied. What has Octavia now to do, but to leave her retreat in Campania, and shew herself to the people of Rome? She, who in her absence can raise a tumult so fierce and violent, will soon discover the extent of her power. But what is my crime? What have I committed? Whom have I offended? The people may see me the mother of legitimate heirs to the house of Cæsar; but, perhaps, they would fain reserve the imperial dignity for the issue of an Ægyptian minstrel (*a*). Submit to."

Octavia,

“ Octavia, since your interest will have it so: recall her to your
 “ embrace, but do it voluntarily, that the rabble may not give
 “ the law to their sovereign. You must either adopt that mea-
 “ sure, or, by just vengeance on the guilty, provide for your
 “ own safety and the public peace. The first alarm was easily
 “ quelled; a second insurrection may prove fatal. Should the
 “ mob have reason to despair of seeing Octavia the partner of
 “ Nero’s bed, they may, in their wisdom, find for her another
 “ husband.”

B O O K
 XIV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

LXII. THIS artful speech, tending at once to inflame the prince with repentment, and alarm his fears, had its effect. Nero heard the whole with mixed emotions of rage and terror. That Octavia was guilty with one of her slaves, was a device of which men could be no longer made the dupes. The firmness of her servants on the rack removed even the shadow of suspicion. A new stratagem was now to be tried. A man was to be found who would dare to confess the guilt; and if the same person could, with some colour of probability, be charged with a conspiracy against the state, the plot would lie the deeper. For this dark design, no one so fit as Anicetus (*a*), the commander of the fleet at Misenum, and the murderer of the prince’s mother. This officer, for some time after that atrocious deed, enjoyed the smiles of the emperor, but soon experienced the common fate of all pernicious miscreants: he was favoured at first, and detested afterwards. It is the nature of great men, when their turn is served, to consider their tools as a living reproach, and standing witnesses against themselves. Nero summoned Anicetus to his presence: he thanked him for services already performed. “By you,” he said, “I was delivered from the
 “ snares of an ambitious mother. A deed of greater moment
 “ still remains. Set me free from the furious spirit of an im-
 “ perious

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

“ perious wife. To effect this you need not so much as raise your hand. Neither sword nor dagger will be wanted. Confess yourself guilty of adultery with Octavia ; I ask no more.” He concluded with a promise of ample rewards, to be managed, indeed, with secrecy, but without bound or measure, and, in the end, a safe retreat in some delightful country. “ And now,” he said, “ accept the offers which I have made, or certain death awaits you.”

Anicetus undertook the business. Practised in guilt, and by the success of his former crimes inspired with courage, he went even beyond his commission. In the presence of certain chosen persons, whom Nero summoned to a secret council, he told his story with circumstances that shewed he had no need of a prompter. He was banished to the island of Sardinia. At that place he continued to live in affluence, and died, at last, in the course of nature.

LXIII. NERO issued a proclamation, declaring the guilt of Octavia, and, in express terms, averring, that, to obtain the command of the fleet at Misenum, she had prostituted her person to Anicetus. He added, that, by the use of medicines to procure abortion, she had thrown a veil over her adulterous commerce. In this public declaration, the objection on account of sterility, so lately urged, was no more remembered. The facts, however, were said to be clearly proved. She was banished to the isle of Pandataria (*a*). The public mind was never so deeply touched with compassion. The banishment of Agrippina, by order of Tiberius, was remembered by many ; and that of Julia (*b*), in the reign of Claudius, was still more fresh in the memory of all : but those two unfortunate exiles had attained the vigour of their days, and were, by consequence, better enabled to endure the stroke

stroke of adversity. They had known scenes of happiness, and, in the recollection of better times, could lose, or, at least, assuage the sense of present evils. To Octavia the celebration of her nuptials was little different from a funeral ceremony. She was led to an house, where she could discover nothing but memorials of affliction; her father carried off by poison (*c*), and her brother, in a short time afterwards, destroyed by the same detestable machination. She saw herself superseded by the allurements of a female slave; she saw the affections of her husband alienated from herself, and a marriage, by which her ruin was completed, openly celebrated with Poppæa. Above all, she underwent a cruel accusation, to an ingenuous mind worse than death. At the time when the storm burst upon her, she was only in the twentieth year of her age, and even then, in the bloom of life, delivered to the custody of centurions and soldiers. Her present afflictions, she plainly saw, were a prelude to her impending fate. She was cut off from all the comforts of life; but the tranquillity of the grave was still denied to her.

B O O K
XIV.

A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

LXIV. IN a few days afterwards she received a mandate, commanding her to end her days. Alarmed and terrified, she descended to supplications; she admitted herself to be a widow; she claimed no higher title than that of the emperor's sister (*a*); she invoked the race of Germanicus, the common ancestors of Nero and herself, and, in the anguish of her heart, regretted even Agrippina, during whose life, she said, her marriage would have been a state of wretchedness, but would not have brought her to an untimely end. Amidst these effusions of sorrow, the ruffians seized her, and, having bound her limbs, opened her veins. Her blood was chilled with fear, and did not issue at the wound. The assassins carried her to a bath of intense heat, where she was suffocated by the vapour. To complete the horror of this barbarous tragedy,

BOOK
XIV.

tragedy, her head was cut off, and sent to Rome, to glut the eyes of Poppæa.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

61.

Such were the transactions, for which the fathers decreed oblations to the gods. I mention the fact in this place, that the reader of this, or any other history of those disastrous times, may know, once for all, that as often as banishment, or a bloody execution was ordered, the senate never failed to thank the gods for their bounty. Those solemn acts, which, in the earlier periods of Rome, were the pious gratitude of the people for increasing happiness, were now profanely and abominably converted to memorials of horror and public misery. This may be received as a general truth ; and yet, whenever a decree occurs, remarkable either for a new strain of adulation, or the base servility of the times, it is my intention not to pass it by in silence.

LXV. IN the course of this year, Nero is said to have destroyed by poison the most considerable of his freedmen. Among these, Doryphorus had opposed the marriage with Poppæa, and for that crime lost his life. Pallas was in possession of exorbitant wealth ; but, living to a great age, he delayed the eager avarice of the emperor. He was murdered for his riches (*a*). Romanus, another of the freedmen, endeavoured, by clandestine calumny, to accomplish the ruin of Seneca. He charged the philosopher with being an accomplice in the machinations of Caius Piso ; but the blow, warded off by Seneca, recoiled upon the accuser. By this incident Piso was alarmed for his own safety (*b*). A dark conspiracy followed, big with danger to Nero, but abortive in the end.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

T H E

A N N A L S

O F

T A C I T U S.

B O O K XV.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XV.

- I. *ARMENIA* invaded by Vologeses, king of Parthia. He is repulsed by the spirit and good conduct of Corbulo. VI. Cæsennius Pætus sent by Nero with a special commission to take upon him the sole command in Armenia. His rashness, vanity and want of military skill. He is besieged with his legions. Corbulo marches to his relief, but too late. Pætus obliged to surrender. XVIII. Trophies of victory decreed at Rome, while the war is still depending. XIX. Debates in the senate concerning fictitious adoptions. XXIII. Nero has a daughter by Poppæa. His immoderate joy. Public monuments erected, but in vain. The child dies within four months; is deified, and a temple is built to her. XXIV. A deputation from the Parthians, claiming a right to retain Armenia: the ambassadors dismissed without success. The conduct of the war committed to Corbulo. He enters Armenia a second time. The Parthians struck with terror. A treaty ensues, and the Parthians agree to terms of peace. Tiridates is to deposit the diadem at the foot of Nero's statue, and never resume it without the consent of Nero. XXXII. The cities on the coast near the Alps admitted to the privileges of Latium. Nero sings on the public stage at Naples. His violent excesses in all kinds of riot and debauchery. XXXV. Torquatus Silanus compelled to put an end to his life. XXXVIII. Rome set on fire, and Nero suspected of being author of the conflagration. He seizes the ruins to his own use, and builds a magnificent palace.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XV.

lace. *The christians accused of being the incendiaries, and, though innocent, put to death with cruel barbarity.* XLVII. *A variety of extraordinary omens.* XLVIII. *A conspiracy against Nero in favour of Caius Piso. A number of Roman knights and senators engaged in the plot. The first mover of it unknown. Subrius Flavius a forward leader. Epicharis, an enfranchised slave, endeavours to animate the conspirators. By her imprudence, and the information of Milichus, a freedman, the conspiracy is detected.* LVI. *The conspirators betray their accomplices. Lucan the poet accuses his mother.* LVII. *The fortitude of Epicharis on the rack. Fenius Rufus, though engaged in the plot, acts with vehemence against the rest of the accomplices. Several illustrious men put to death.* LX. *Seneca accused, and a tribune sent to him with the particulars of the information. His answer. He receives orders to die. His wife, Pompeia Paulina, saved by order of Nero. Seneca dies in the bath.* LXVI. *Fenius Rufus accused by the rest of the conspirators* LXVII. *The firm behaviour of Subrius Flavius, his intrepid answer to Nero, and his death.* LXVIII. *Vestinus, the consul, though innocent, commanded by a tribune to open his veins.* LXX. *Lucan the poet dies, repeating his own verses.* LXXII. *Nero distributes largesses among the soldiers. The senate convened. Their base and servile flattery. Oblations decreed to the gods. The month of April styled by the name Nero.*

These transactions passed in little more than three years.

Years of Rome—of Christ

Consuls

815	62, continued.	Marius Celsus, Asinius Gallus.
816	63	Memmius Regulus, Verginius Rufus.
817	64	C. Læcanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus.
818	65	Licinius Nerva Silianus, M. Vestinus Atticus.

T H E
A N N A L S
OF
T A C I T U S.

B O O K X V .

I. **D**URING these transactions, Vologeses, king of the Parthians, began to raise new commotions in the East. The success of Corbulo alarmed his jealousy; he saw, with wounded pride, the defeat of his brother, Tiridates; and, in his room, Tigranes, an alien prince (*a*), seated on the throne of Armenia. The honour of the Arsacides was tarnished by these events, and he was determined to restore its former lustre. But the struggle was to be with a great and powerful empire. Treaties of alliance, long in force and long respected by the two nations, held him in suspense. By nature anxious and irresolute, he formed no settled plan. He was at variance with the Hyrcanians, and, after a long and obstinate conflict, that brave and powerful nation still

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

BOOK
XV.A. U. C.
813.
A. D.
24.

still made head against him. While he continued wavering, fresh intelligence fired him with indignation. Tigranes marched his army into the territory of the Adiabeniens, a people bordering on Armenia, and laid waste their country. The enterprize did not resemble the sudden incursion of Barbarians roving in quest of prey: a regular war seemed to be declared in form. The chiefs of the Adiabeniens saw, with resentment, their lands made a scene of desolation, not by a Roman army, but by a foreigner, a despicable hostage, who for years had lived at Rome undistinguished from the common slaves.

Monobazus, the sovereign of the province, inflamed the discontent of the people, and, at the same time, roused the pride of Vologeses by frequent messages, importing, that he knew not which way to turn, nor from what quarter to expect relief. Armenia, he said, was lost, and the neighbouring states, if not reinforced by the Parthians, must be all involved in the same calamity, perhaps, with the consent of the people, as Rome, it was well known, made a distinction between the nations that fell by conquest, and those that submitted at discretion. Tiridates, by his behaviour, added force to these complaints. Driven from his throne, he appeared with all the silent dignity of distress, or, if he spoke occasionally, his words were few, short, and sententious. “Mighty kingdoms,” he said, “are not supported by in-
“ activity. Men and arms, and warlike preparations are ne-
“ cessary. The conqueror has always justice on his side. In a
“ private station, to defend their property is the virtue of indivi-
“ duals; but to invade the possessions of others is the preroga-
“ tive and the glory of kings.”

II. ROUSED by these incentives, Vologeses summoned a council, and, seating Tiridates next himself, spoke in substance as follows:

“ You

“ You see before you a prince descended from the same father
 “ with myself. Acknowledging the right of primogeniture, he
 “ ceded to me the diadem of Parthia : in return I placed him on
 “ the throne of Armenia, the third kingdom among the eastern
 “ nations. Media, in fact, is the second, and Pacorus, at that
 “ time, was in possession. By this arrangement, I provided for
 “ my family, and, by the measure, extinguished for ever those
 “ unnatural jealousies, which formerly envenomed brothers against
 “ brothers. This system, it seems, has given umbrage to the
 “ Romans ; they declare against it ; and though they never
 “ broke with Parthia without paying dearly for their temerity,
 “ they now are willing to provoke a war, and rush on their
 “ own destruction. Thus much I am willing to declare ; the
 “ possessions, which have descended to me from my ancestors,
 “ shall never be dismembered ; but I had rather maintain them
 “ by the justice of my cause, than by the decision of the sword.
 “ I avow the principle, and if, in consequence of it, I have been
 “ too much inclined to pacific measures, the vigour of my future
 “ conduct shall make atonement. The national honour, in the
 “ mean time, has suffered no diminution. Your glory is unim-
 “ paired, and I have added to it the virtues of moderation ;
 “ virtues, which the gods approve, and which no sovereign, how-
 “ ever great and flourishing, ought to despise.”

B O O K
XV.
 A. U. C.
 815.
 A. D.
 62.

Having thus delivered his sentiments, he placed the regal
 diadem on the head of Tiridates, and, at the same time, gave to
 Monefes, an officer of distinguished rank, the command of the
 cavalry, which, by established usage, is always appointed to
 attend the person of the monarch. He added the auxiliaries
 sent by the Adiabeniens, and, with that force, ordered him to
 march against Tigranes, in order to exterminate the usurper from
 the throne of Armenia. In the mean time, he proposed to com-
 promise

BOOK
XV.
A. U. C.
815
A. D.
62.

promise the war with the Hyrcanians, and fall with the whole weight of his kingdom on the Roman provinces.

III. CORBULO was no sooner apprised of these transactions, than he dispatched, to support Tigranes, two legions, under the command of Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus. In their private instructions those officers had it in command, to proceed with caution, and act on the defensive, without pushing on their operations with too much vigour. A decisive campaign was not Corbulo's plan. He wished to protract the war, and, in the meantime, stated, in his letters to the emperor, the necessity of appointing a commander, with a special commission to protect Armenia, as he foresaw a storm gathering in the province of Syria. If Vologeses made an irruption in that quarter, a powerful army would be wanted to repel the invader. With the rest of his legions he formed a chain of posts along the banks of the Euphrates, and, having made a powerful levy of provincial forces, he secured all the passes against the inroads of the enemy. In order to make sure of water in a country not well supplied by nature, he erected strong castles near the springs and fountains; and, where the stations were inconvenient, he choaked up a number of rivulets with heaps of sand, with intent to conceal their source from the Parthian army.

IV. WHILE Corbulo was thus concerting measures for the defence of Syria, Monefes advanced by rapid marches, and with all his forces entered Armenia. He hoped to outstrip the fame that flies before an enterprising general, and to fall upon Tigranes by surprise. That prince, aware of the design, had thrown himself into the city of Tigranocerta, a place surrounded by high walls (*a*), and defended by a numerous garrison. The river Nicephorius (*b*), with a current sufficiently

ficiently broad, washes a considerable part of the walls. A deep trench inclosed the rest. There was a competent number of soldiers to man the works, and provisions had been laid in with due precaution. Some of the foraging parties having rashly ventured too far were surrounded by the enemy. This check, however, instead of disheartening the garrison, served only to inspire them with a spirit of revenge. The operations of a siege are ill suited to the genius of the Parthians, whose courage always fails in a close engagement. A few arrows thrown at random made no impression on men sheltered by their fortifications. The besiegers could only amuse themselves with a feeble attack. An attempt was made by the Adiabeniens to carry the works by assault. They advanced their scaling ladders and other military engines, but were soon repulsed, and, the garrison falling out, the whole corps was cut to pieces.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

V. CORBULO was not of a temper to be elated with success. He chose to act with moderation in prosperity, and, accordingly, dispatched an embassy to expostulate with Vologeses on the violence with which he had invaded a Roman province, and not only besieged the cohorts of the empire, but also a king in alliance with Rome. If the Parthian prince did not raise the siege, he threatened to advance with the strength of his army, and encamp in the heart of the country. Casperius, a centurion, was charged with this commission. He met the king in the city of Nisibis (*a*), distant about seven and thirty miles from Tigranocerta, and there delivered his orders in a tone of firmness. To avoid a war with Rome had been for some time the fixed resolution of Vologeses, and the success of the present enterprise gave him no reason to alter his sentiments.

The siege promised no kind of advantage; Tigranes possessed
VOL. II. I i a strong

BOOK
XV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

a strong hold, well garrisoned, and provided with ample supplies; the forces, that attempted to storm the works, met with a total overthrow; the Roman legions were in possession of Armenia, and others were in readiness, not only to cover the province of Syria, but to push the war into the Parthian territories: his cavalry suffered for want of forage, and, all vegetation being destroyed by a swarm of locusts, neither grass nor foliage could be found. Determined by these considerations, yet disguising his fear, Vologeses, with the specious appearance of a pacific disposition, returned for answer to Casperius, that he should send ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to solicit the cession of Armenia, and the re-establishment of peace between the two nations. Meanwhile, he sent dispatches to Monefes, with orders to abandon the siege of Tigranocerta, and, without farther delay, returned to his capital.

VI. THESE events, ascribed by the general voice to the conduct of the general, and the terror impressed on the mind of Vologeses, were extolled in terms of the highest commendation. And yet malignity was at work. Some would have it, “ That
“ there was at the bottom a secret compact to make an end of the
“ war. According to their sinister interpretation, it was stipu-
“ lated, that Vologeses should return to his own dominions, and
“ that Armenia should be evacuated by Tigranes. With what
“ other view were the Roman soldiers withdrawn from Tigranocerta? Why give up, by an ill-judged peace, what had
“ been so well defended in time of war? Could the army find,
“ at the extremity of Cappadocia, in huts suddenly thrown up,
“ better winter-quarters, than in the capital of a kingdom,
“ which had been preserved by force of arms? Peace is held
“ forth; but it is, in fact, no more than a truce, a suspension
“ of arms, that Vologeses may have to contend with another ge-
“ neral,

“ neral, and that Corbulo should not be obliged to hazard the
“ great renown, which he had acquired during a service of so
“ many years.”

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

The fact was, Corbulo, as we have stated, required a new commander for the special purpose of defending Armenia, and the nomination of Cæsennius Pætus was already announced. That officer arrived in a short time. A division of the forces was allotted to each commander. The fourth and twelfth legions, with the fifth lately arrived from Mæsia, and a body of auxiliaries from Pontus, from Galatia and Cappadocia, were put under the command of Pætus. The third, the sixth, and tenth legions, with the forces of Syria, were assigned to Corbulo. Both commanders were to act in concert; or to push the war in different quarters, as the occasion might require. But the spirit of Corbulo could not brook a rival, and Pætus, though to be second in command under such a general would have been his highest glory, began to aspire above himself. He despised the fame acquired by Corbulo, declaring all his best exploits to be no better than boasted victories, without bloodshed, and without booty; mere pretended sieges, in which not a single place was carried by assault. For himself, he was resolved to carry on the war for more substantial purposes. By imposing tributes and taxes on the vanquished, he meant to reduce them to subjection, and, for the shadow of an oriental king, he would establish the rights of conquest, and the authority of the Roman name.

VII. IN this juncture, the ambassadors, who had been sent by Vologeses to treat with Nero, returned back to their own country. Their negotiation was unsuccessful, and the Parthians declared war. Pætus embraced the opportunity to signalise his valour. He entered Armenia at the head of two legions; the fourth,

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

commanded by Funifulanus Vettonianus, and the twelfth by Calavius Sabinus. His first approach was attended with unpropitious omens. In passing over a bridge, which lay across the Euphrates, the horse that carried the consular ornaments, taking fright without any apparent cause, broke from the ranks, and fled at full speed. A victim, likewise, intended for sacrifice, standing near the unfinished fortifications of the winter camp, escaped out of the entrenchments. Nor was this all: the javelins, in the hands of the soldiers, emitted sudden flashes of fire; and this prodigy was the more alarming as the Parthians brandish the same weapon.

VIII. PORTENTS and prodigies had no effect on Pætus. Without waiting to fortify his winter encampment, and without providing a sufficient store of grain, he marched his army over Mount Taurus, determined, as he gave out, to recover Tigranocerta, and lay waste the country through which Corbulo had passed with vain parade. In his progress some forts and castles were stormed, and it is certain that his share of glory and of booty would have been considerable, if to enjoy the former with moderation, and to secure the latter, had been his talent. He over-ran by rapid marches vast tracts of country, where no conquest could be maintained. His provisions, in the mean time, went to decay, and, the winter season approaching fast, he was obliged to return with his army. His dispatches to Nero were in a style as grand as if he had ended the war, high sounding, pompous, full of vain glory, but without any solid advantage.

IX. IN the mean time Corbulo never neglected the banks of the Euphrates. To his former chain of posts he added new stations; and left the enemy, who shewed themselves in detached

tached parties on the opposite plains, should be able to obstruct the building of a bridge over the river, he ordered a number of vessels of large size to be braced together with great beams, and on that foundation raised a superstructure of towers armed with slings and warlike engines. From this floating battery he annoyed the enemy with a discharge of stones and javelins, thrown to such a length, that the Parthians could not retaliate with their darts. Under this shelter the bridge was finished. The allied cohorts passed over to the opposite hills. The legions followed, and pitched their camp. The whole of these operations was executed with such rapidity, and so formidable a display of strength, that the Parthians abandoned their enterprise, and, without attempting any thing against the Syrians, drew off their forces to the invasion of Armenia.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

X. PÆTUS had fixed his head-quarters in that country, little aware of the storm ready to burst upon him, and so much off his guard, that he suffered the fifth legion to remain in Pontus, at a considerable distance, while he still weakened his numbers by granting leave of absence to his soldiers without reserve. In this situation he received intelligence of the approach of Vologeses with a powerful army. He called the twelfth legion to his assistance, and, by the necessity of that reinforcement, betrayed to the enemy the feeble condition of his army. He was, notwithstanding, sufficiently strong to maintain his post, and baffle all the efforts of the Parthians, had it been in the genius of the man to pursue with firmness either his own idea, or the counsel of others. But in pressing exigencies, he no sooner embraced the plan recommended by officers of known experience, than his little spirit was stung with jealousy, and, lest he should be thought to stand in need of advice, he was sure to adopt very different measures, always changing for the worse.

On

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

On the first approach of the Parthians, he sallied out of his entrenchments, determined to hazard a battle. Ditches and ramparts, he said, were not given to him in commission, nor had he any need of that defence: the soldier and the sword were all he wanted. In this vapouring strain he led his legions to the field; but a centurion, and a few soldiers, who had been sent to reconnoitre the enemy, being cut off, his courage failed, and he founded a retreat. He was no sooner in his camp, than, perceiving that Vologeses had not pressed on the rear, he once more grew bold, and, in a fit of valour, ordered three thousand of his best infantry to take post on the next eminence of Mount Taurus, to dispute the pass with the Parthian king. The Pannonians, who formed the strength of his cavalry, were drawn up on the open plain. He placed his wife and her infant son in a castle, called Arsamofata (*a*), and left a cohort to defend the place. In this manner he contrived to divide an army, which, acting with united force, would have been able to repel the attack of a wild and desultory enemy. When pressed by Vologeses, we are told it was with difficulty that he could submit to acquaint Corbulo with his situation. That officer did not hurry to his assistance. To augment the glory of delivering him, he was willing to let the danger increase. In the mean time, he ordered a detachment of a thousand men, drafted from each of his three legions, and a body of eight hundred horse, with an equal number from the cohorts, to hold themselves in readiness for a sudden enterprise.

XI. VOLOGESSES knew from his scouts that his passage over Mount Taurus was obstructed by the Roman infantry, and that the plain was occupied by the Pannonian horse; but the news did not deter him from pursuing his march. He fell with impetuous fury on the cavalry, who fled with precipitation. The

legionary soldiers, in like manner, abandoned their post. A tower, commanded by Tarquinius Crescus, a centurion, was the only place that held out. That officer made several sallies with success, routing such of the enemy as dared to approach the walls, and pursuing the run-aways with great slaughter; till by a volley of combustibles, thrown in by the besiegers, the works were set on fire. The gallant centurion perished in the flames. Some of the garrison escaped unhurt, and made the best of their way to distant wilds. The wounded returned to the camp, and there related wonders, magnifying, beyond all bounds, the valour of the Parthian king, the number of his troops, and their ferocity in battle. A panic pervaded the army. Men, who feared for themselves, swallowed all that was said with easy credulity. Pætus felt the pressure of his misfortunes. He seemed to resign the command, unable to struggle with adversity. He sent again to Corbulo, with earnest prayers entreating him to save the Roman eagles, with the standards of an unfortunate army, and the army itself, from impending ruin. In the mean time, he and his men would hold out to the last, determined to live or die in the service of their country.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

XII. CORBULO, as usual, firm and collected in the moment of danger, prepared for the expedition. Having left a sufficient force to guard his posts on the banks of the Euphrates, he moved forward towards Armenia, taking the shortest route through Commagena, and next through Cappadocia, both fertile countries, and capable of furnishing supplies for his army. Besides the usual train attending on a march, he took with him a number of camels, loaded with grain, to answer the double purpose of preventing the want of provisions, and of striking the enemy with the terror of an unusual appearance. Pæctius, a centurion of principal rank (*a*), was the first from the vanquished army that encountered.

BOOK
XV.A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
28.

countered Corbulo on his march. The common men came up soon after, all endeavouring by various excuses to palliate their disgrace. The general ordered them to join their colours, and try to gain their pardon from Pætus. The merciful disposition of that officer might incline him to forgive; but, for himself, he favoured none but such as conquered by their valour. He then addressed his own legions, visiting the ranks, and inspiring all with zeal and ardour. He called to mind their past exploits, and opened to their view a new field of glory. "It is not," he said, "the towns and villages of Armenia that now demand our swords: a Roman camp invokes our aid, and two legions look to us for relief. Their delivery from the Barbarians will be the reward of victory. If to a private soldier the civic crown (*b*), delivered by the hand of his general, is the brightest recompense for the life of a citizen saved; how much greater will be the glory of the present enterprise, in which the number of the distressed is equal to those who bring relief, and, by consequence, every soldier in this army may save his man!" By this discourse one general spirit was diffused through the ranks. The men had private motives to inflame their courage; they felt for their brothers; they wished to succour their relations, and, without halting night or day, pursued their march with alacrity and vigour.

XIII. MEANWHILE Vologeses pressed on the siege. He assaulted the entrenchments; he endeavoured to storm a castle, where the weaker sex, the aged, and infirm were lodged for security. In these several attacks, he came to a closer engagement than usually consists with the military genius of his country. By a show of temerity he hoped to bring on a decisive action. The Romans remained close in their tents, content with a safe post within their entrenchments; some in deference to the orders

B O O K
XV.A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

orders of their general ; others, through want of spirit, tamely waiting to be relieved by Corbulo. If, in the mean time, the enemy overpowered them, they called to mind, by way of consolation, the example of two Roman armies that passed under the yoke ; one at Caudium (*a*), and the other at Numantia. By those two events submission, in their present distress, would be fully justified, since neither the Samnites, nor the Carthaginians, those famous rivals of the Roman republic, could be compared with the extensive power of the Parthian empire : and, moreover, the boasted virtue of the ancient Romans, however decorated by the praises of posterity, was always pliant in misfortune, and willing to make terms with the conqueror. By this unwarlike spirit of his army Pætus was driven to despair. He wrote to Vologeses. His letter was more in the style of reproach than the language of a suppliant. “ Hostilities,” he said, “ were commenced by the Parthians to wrest the kingdom of Armenia from the Romans ; a kingdom always in the power of the emperor, or governed by kings invested by him with the regal diadem. Peace is equally the interest of both nations. From the present juncture no conclusion can be drawn, since the whole weight of Parthia is employed against two legions, and Rome has it still in her power to arm in her cause the remaining nations of the world.”

XIV. VOLOGESES, without entering into the question of right, returned for answer, “ That he must wait for his two brothers, Pacorus and Tiridates : when they arrived, a convention might be held, and there the rights of Armenia would be adjusted. The gods would then decide the fate of the Roman legions.” Pætus sent another embassy, requesting an interview. The king sent Vafaces, his general of the cavalry, to act in the royal name. At that meeting Pætus cited a number of an-

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

cient precedents. He talked of Lucullus, Pompey, and the emperors of Rome, who had dealt out the sceptre of Armenia. Vafaces coolly answered, that some shadow of right must be allowed to have been claimed by the Romans; but the substantial power was always vested in the Parthian kings. After much debate, it was agreed, that on the next day, Monobazus, the Adiabedian, should attend as a witness to the compact. In his presence it was agreed that, the siege being raised, the Roman legions should forthwith evacuate Armenia; that the strong holds, with their stores and magazines, should be delivered up to the Parthians; and, these conditions duly performed, Vologeses was to be at liberty, by his ambassadors, to negotiate with Nero.

XV. THESE preliminaries being settled, Pætus ordered a bridge to be built over the Arfanas (*a*), a river that flowed by the side of his camp. For this work his pretext was, that it would be convenient to his army, when the march began: but the fact was, the Parthians, knowing the utility of a bridge, had made it an article of the treaty, intending, at the same time, that it should remain a monument of their victory. The Roman troops, instead of using the bridge, filed off another way. A report (*b*) was spread abroad, that the legions had passed under the yoke, and, in addition to that disgrace, suffered all the humiliating circumstances, which usually attend the overthrow of an army. The Armenians gave some colour to the report. Before the Romans marched out, they entered the entrenchments, and formed a line on each side, in order to fix on the slaves and beasts of burthen that formerly belonged to themselves. Not content with seizing what they called their own property, they laid violent hands on the apparel of the soldiers, who yielded, with fear and trembling, to avoid a new cause of quarrel.

Vologeses,

Vologeses, as a monument of his victory, raised a pile of dead bodies, and arms taken from the enemy; but declined to be a spectator of the legions in their flight. He first indulged his pride, and then sought the fame of moderation. He waded across the Arsanias, mounted on an elephant, while his train and his near relations followed him on horseback. The reason was, a report prevailed, that, by the fraudulent contrivance of the builders, the whole fabric of the bridge would give way at once; but by those, who made the experiment, it was found to be a firm and solid structure.

B O O K
XV.A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

XVI. THE besieged, it is now clear, were provided with grain in such abundance, that, on their departure, they burned their magazines; and, on the other hand, by the account given by Corbulo, it appears, that the Parthians, having consumed their whole stock of provisions, were on the point of raising the siege, at the very time when he was within three days march of the place. Upon the same authority it may be averred as a fact, that Pætus, under the sanction of a solemn oath, sworn under the eagles, and in the presence of witnesses sent by Vologeses, took upon him to engage, that no Roman should set his foot within the territories of Armenia, till Nero's pleasure touching the terms of the treaty should arrive from Rome. These assertions, it may be said, were suggested by malignity, to aggravate the infamy of an unwarlike officer; but it is now known, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Pætus made a forced march of no less than forty miles in one day; leaving behind him the sick and wounded, and flying, with as much disorder and confusion, as if he had been routed in the field of battle. Corbulo met the fugitives on the banks of the Euphrates. He received them without parade, and without that display of military pomp which might seem a triumph over the fate of the vanquished. His men beheld with

BOOK
XV.A. U. C.
515.
A. D.
62.

regret the disgrace of their fellow-foldiers, and tears gushed from every eye. The usual forms of military salutation were suppressed by the general condolence. The pride of courage and the sense of glory, which, in the day of prosperity, are natural passions, were now converted into grief and sympathy. The lower the condition of the soldier, the more sincere his sorrow. In that class of men the honest emotions of the heart appeared without disguise.

XVII. THE conference between the two commanders was short, and without ceremony. Corbulo complained that all his labours were rendered abortive, whereas the war might have been terminated by the total overthrow of the Parthians. Pætus observed in reply, that all things were still in the same condition. He proposed to turn the eagles against the enemy, and, since Vologeses had withdrawn his forces, by their joint force Armenia would be easily reduced. Corbulo rejected the offer. He had no such orders from the emperor. It was the danger, in which the legions were involved that drew him out of his province, and, since it was uncertain where the Parthians would make their next attempt, he was determined to return into Syria with his army; and if his infantry, harassed out with fatiguing marches, could keep pace with the Parthian cavalry, who with their usual velocity could traverse the open plains, he should hold himself indebted to his own good fortune for so signal an event. Pætus fixed his winter-quarters in Cappadocia. Vologeses sent dispatches to Corbulo, requiring, that the strong holds and fortresses on the banks of the Euphrates should be rased to the ground, and the river left, as heretofore, the common boundary of the two empires. Corbulo had no objection, provided both parties withdrew their garrisons, and left Armenia a free and independent country. The Parthian monarch, after some hesitation, acceded

acceded to the terms. The castles erected, by Corbulo's order, on the banks of the Euphrates, were all demolished, and the Armenians were left to their natural liberty.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

XVIII. MEANWHILE trophies of victory were erected at Rome, and triumphal arches on the mount of the capitol. This was ordered by the senate, while the war was still depending; nor was the work discontinued, when the event was known. The public eye was amused at the expence of truth. To add to the imposition, and to appear free from all solicitude about foreign affairs, Nero ordered all the damaged grain, that lay in the public stores, to be thrown into the Tiber. By this act of ostentation an idea of great abundance was to be impressed on the minds of the people. Nor did he suffer the price of corn to be raised, though near two hundred vessels, loaded with grain, were lost in the harbour by the violence of a storm, and a hundred more, working their way up the Tiber, were destroyed by the accident of fire. At the same time Nero committed the care of the public imposts to three men of consular rank, namely, Lucius Piso, Ducennius Geminus, and Pompeius Paullinus. In making this arrangement he animadverted with severity on the conduct of former emperors, whose extravagance made heavy anticipations of the revenue; whereas he himself, by his frugality, paid annually into the treasury, for the exigencies of the state, six millions of sesterces.

XIX. A custom, highly unjust and prejudicial to the rights of others, was, at this time, in general vogue. When the time drew near for the election of magistrates, or the allotment of provinces, it was the practice of men, who had no issue (*a*), to become fathers by adoption. Having served their turn in a contest with real parents for the prætorship, and the administration of

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

815.

A. D.

62.

of provinces, they emancipated their pretended sons, and resumed their former state. Against this abuse warm remonstrances were made to the senate. The complainants urged the rights of nature, the care and expence of rearing children, while the compensation by law established (*b*) was wrested from them by fraud, by artifice, and the facility of feigned adoptions. It was surely a sufficient advantage to such as had no children, that they could live free from all charge and solicitude, without leaving the road to favour, to preferment, and honours open to them in common with men who are of service to the community. Real parents are taught by the laws to expect the reward due to useful members of the community; but the laws are eluded, and the promised reward is snatched away, if such, as have raised no heirs to themselves, are allowed to become parents without paternal affection, and childless again without regret. The deception of a moment serves to counterbalance whole years of expectation, and the true father sees all his hopes defeated. The senate passed a decree, by which it was provided, that in all cases, either of election to the magistracy, or succession by testament, no regard should be paid to adoptions merely colourable.

XX. CLAUDIUS TIMARCHUS, a native of Crete, was cited to answer a prosecution commenced against him. Besides the allegations usually laid to the charge of such as rise in the provinces to overgrown wealth, and become the oppressors of their inferior neighbours, an expression, that fell from him, excited the indignation of the senate. This man, it seems, had made it his boast, that addresses of public thanks to the proconsular governors of Crete depended entirely on his weight and influence. Pætus Thrasca seized this opportunity to convert the incident to the public good. He gave his opinion that the offender ought to be banished from the isle of Crete, and proceeded as follows: "Ex-

" perience

“ perience has taught us, conscript fathers, that the wisest laws
 “ and the best examples of virtue owe their origin to the actual
 “ commission of crimes and misdemeanours. Men of integrity
 “ make it their study, on such occasions, to deduce good from
 “ evil. To the corrupt practices of public orators we are in-
 “ debted for the Cincian law (*a*), and for the Julian to the intrigues
 “ and open bribery of the candidates for public honours. The
 “ Calpurnian regulations (*b*) were produced by the avarice and
 “ rapacity of the magistrates. Guilt must precede the punish-
 “ ment, and reformation grows out of abuse. We have now before
 “ us the pride and insolence of petty tyrants in the provinces. To
 “ check the mischief, let us come to a resolution, consistent with
 “ good faith, and worthy of the Roman name. Protection is due
 “ to our allies ; but let us remember, that, to adorn our names,
 “ we are not to depend on the voice of foreign nations. Our
 “ fellow-citizens are the best judges of our conduct.

B O O K
 XV.

A. U. C.
 815.
 A. D.
 62.

XXI. “ THE old republic was not content with sending præ-
 “ tors and consuls to administer the provinces. Men who sus-
 “ tained no public character were often commissioned to visit the
 “ remotest colonies, in order to report the condition of each, and
 “ the temper with which the people submitted to the authority of
 “ government. By the judgment of individuals whole nations
 “ were kept in awe. What is our practice now ? We pay court
 “ to the colonies ; we flatter the provinces, and, by the influence
 “ of some powerful leader, we receive public thanks for our ad-
 “ ministration. In like manner, accusations are framed at the
 “ will and pleasure of some overgrown provincial. Let the right
 “ of complaining still remain ; and, by exercising that right, let
 “ the provinces shew their importance ; but let them not, by false
 “ encomiums, impose upon our judgment. The praise, that springs
 “ from cabal and faction, is more pernicious than even malice or
 “ cruelty.

B O O K
XV.A. U. C.
815.
A. D.
62.

“cruelty. Let both be suppressed. More mischief is done by
 “the governor who wishes to oblige, than by him who shews
 “himself not afraid of offending. It is the misfortune of certain
 “virtues to provoke ill will. In that class may be reckoned in-
 “flexible severity, and the firmness that never yields to intrigue,
 “or the arts of designing men. Hence it happens, that every
 “new governor opens a promising scene, but the last act seldom
 “corresponds with the outset. In the end we see an humble can-
 “didate for the suffrages of the province. Remove the evil, and
 “government, in every quarter, will be more upright, more just,
 “more uniform. By prosecutions avarice and rapine have re-
 “ceived a check. Abolish the custom of giving public thanks,
 “and you suppress the pitiful ambition which, for vain applause,
 “can stoop to mean compliances.”

XXII. THIS speech was received with the unanimous assent of the fathers. The proposition, notwithstanding, could not be formed into a decree, the consuls refusing to make their report. The prince interposed in the business, and, with his authority, a law was passed, forbidding any person whatever to move in a provincial assembly (*a*) for a vote of thanks to the proconsul or prætor, or to send a deputation to Rome for that purpose. During the same consulship, the gymnasium, or place of athletic exercises, was struck with lightning, and burnt to the ground. The statue of Nero was found in the ruins, melted down to a shapeless mass. The celebrated city of Pompeii (*b*) in Campania was overthrown by an earthquake, and well nigh demolished. Lælia, the vestal virgin, departed this life; and Cornelia, descended from the family of the Cossi, succeeded to the vacant office.

A. U. C.
816.
A. D.
63.

XXIII. DURING the consulship of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus, Poppæa was delivered of a daughter. The ex-
 ultation

ultation of Nero was beyond all mortal joy. He called the newborn infant Augusta, and gave the same title to her mother. The child was brought into the world at Antium, where Nero himself was born. The senate, before the birth, had offered vows to the gods for the safe delivery of Poppæa. They fulfilled their obligations, and voted additional honours. Days of supplication were appointed: a temple was voted to the goddess of fecundity; athletic sports were instituted on the model of the religious games practised at Antium; golden statues to the two goddesses of fortune (*a*) were to be erected on the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus; and in honour of the Claudian and Domitian families (*b*) Circensian games were to be celebrated at Antium, in imitation of the public spectacles exhibited at Bovillæ to commemorate the Julian race. But these honours were of short duration: the infant died in less than four months, and the monuments of human vanity faded away. But new modes of flattery were soon displayed: the child was canonized for a goddess; a temple was decreed to her, with an altar, a bed of state, a priest, and religious ceremonies.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
816.
A. D.
63.

Nero's grief, like his joy at the birth, was without bounds or measure. At the time when the senate went in crowds to Antium, to congratulate the prince on the delivery of Poppæa, a circumstance occurred worthy of notice. Pætus Thrasca was ordered by Nero not to appear upon that occasion. The affront was deemed a prelude to the ruin of that eminent citizen. He received the mandate with his usual firmness, calm and undismayed. A report prevailed soon after, that Nero, in conversation with Seneca, made it his boast, that he was reconciled to Thrasca, and in return the philosopher wished him joy. In consequence of this incident the glory of those excellent men rose to the highest pitch; but their danger kept pace with their glory.

BOOK
XV.A. U. C.
816.
A. D.
63.

XXIV. IN the beginning of the spring ambassadors from Volageses arrived at Rome, with letters from the king, their master, in substance declaring, “ that he would not revive the question “ of right, so often urged and fully discussed, since the gods, the “ sovereign arbiters of nations, had delivered Armenia into the “ hands of the Parthians, not without disgrace to the Roman “ name. Tigranes had been hemmed in by a close blockade ; “ Pætus and his legions were enveloped in the like distress, and, “ in the moment when destruction hung over them, the whole “ army was suffered to decamp. The Parthians displayed at “ once their superior valour and their moderation. But even in “ the present juncture Tiridates had no objection to a long “ journey to Rome, in order to be there invested with the so- “ vereignty ; but, being of the order of the Magi, the duties of “ the sacerdotal function (*a*) required his personal attendance. “ He was willing, however, to proceed to the Roman camp, and “ there receive the regal diadem under the eagles, and the images of “ the emperor, in the presence of the legions.”

XXV. THE style of this letter differed essentially from the account transmitted by Pætus, who represented the affairs of the east in a flourishing situation. To ascertain the truth, a centurion, who had travelled with the ambassadors, was interrogated concerning the state of Armenia. The Romans, he replied, have evacuated the country. Nero felt the insulting mockery of being asked to yield what the Barbarians had seized by force. He summoned a council of the leading men at Rome, to determine, by their advice, which was most eligible, a difficult and laborious war, or an ignominious peace. All declared for war. The conduct of it was committed to Corbulo, who, by the experience of so many years, knew both the temper of the Roman army, and the genius of the enemy. The misconduct of Pætus had brought disgrace.

disgrace on the Roman name; and to hazard the same calamities from the incapacity of another officer, was not advisable.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

816.

A. D.

63.

The Parthian deputies received their answer, but were dismissed with handsome presents, leaving them room to infer from the mild behaviour of the emperor, that Tiridates, if he made the request in person, might succeed to the extent of his wishes. The civil administration of Syria was committed to Cestius, but the whole military authority was assigned to Corbulo. The fifteenth legion, then in Pannonia under the command of Marius Celsus, was ordered to join the army. Directions were also given to the kings and tetrarchs of the east, as also to the governors and imperial procurators of the several provinces in those parts, to submit in every thing to the commander in chief. Corbulo was now invested with powers little short of what the Roman people committed to Pompey (*a*) in the war against the pirates. Pætus, in the mean time, returned to Rome, not without apprehensions of being called to a severe account. Nero appeased his fears, content with a few sallies of mirth and ridicule. His words were, “I make haste to pardon you, lest a state of suspense should injure a man of your sensibility. Since you are so apt to take fright, delay on my part might hurt your nerves, and bring on a fit of illness.”

XXVI. CORBULO expected no advantage to the service from the fourth and twelfth legions, the bravest of their men being all cut off, and the survivors still remaining covered with consternation. He removed them into Syria; and, in exchange, reinforced himself with the sixth legion, and the third; both in full vigour, inured to hardship, and no less distinguished by their success than by their valour. To these he added the fifth legion, which happened to be quartered in Pontus, and, by consequence,

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

816.

A. D.

63.

had not suffered in the late defeat. The fifteenth legion had lately joined the army, as also a body of select troops from Illyricum and Ægypt, with the cavalry, the cohorts, and auxiliaries sent by the confederate kings. The whole force assembled at Melitene (*a*), where Corbulo proposed to cross the Euphrates. His first care was to purify his army by a solemn lustration (*b*). Those rites performed, he called his men to a meeting, and in a spirited harangue painted forth the auspicious government of the reigning prince; he mentioned his own exploits, and imputed to the imbecility of Pætus all the disasters that happened. The whole of his discourse was delivered in a style of authority, the true eloquence of a foldier.

XXVII. HE began his march without delay, and chose the road formerly traversed by Lucullus (*a*), having first given orders to his men to open the passes, and remove the obstructions, with which time and long disuse had choaked up part of the way. He heard that ambassadors from Tiridates and Vologeses were advancing with overtures of peace, and having no inclination to treat them with disdain, he sent forward some chosen centurions, with instructions neither harsh nor arrogant, in substance stating, “ that the misunderstanding between the two nations might still
“ be compromised, without proceeding to the decision of the
“ sword. Both armies had fought with alternate vicissitudes of
“ fortune, in some instances favourable to the Romans, in others
“ to the Parthians; and from those events both sides might derive
“ a lesson against the pride and insolence of victory. It was the
“ interest of Tiridates to receive, at the hands of the Roman emperor, a kingdom in a flourishing state, before hostile armies
“ laid a scene of desolation; and Vologeses would consult his own
“ advantage, as well as that of his people, by preferring the friendship of Rome to wild ambition and the havoc of a destructive
“ war.”

“ war. The internal diffensions that diftract the kingdom of
 “ Parthia are too well known. It is alfo known, that Vologefes
 “ has for his fubjects fierce and barbarous nations, whom no law
 “ can check, no government can controul. Nero, on the con-
 “ trary, fees a fettled calm throughout the Roman world, and,
 “ except the rupture with Parthia, has no other war upon his
 “ hands.” Such was Corbulo’s anfwer. To give it weight, he
 added the terrors of the fword. The grandees of Armenia, who
 had been the firft to revolt, were driven out of their poffeffions,
 and their caftles were levelled to the ground. Between the
 weak, who made no refiftance, and the brave and refolute, no
 diftinction was made. All were involved in one common danger ;
 no place was fafe ; hills and mountains no lefs than the open
 plain were filled with confternation.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

816.

A. D.

63.

XXVIII. THE name of Corbulo was not, as is ufual among
 adverfe nations, hated by the enemy. He was, on the contrary,
 held in high efteem, and, by confequence, his advice had great
 weight with the Barbarians. Vologefes did not wifh for a
 general war. He defired a truce in favour of fome particular
 provinces. Tiridates propofed an interview with the Roman
 general. An early day was appointed. The place for the con-
 grefs was chofen by the prince on the very fpot where Pætus
 and his legions were invested. The fcene of their late victory
 flattered the pride of the Barbarians. Corbulo did not decline the
 meeting. The face of things he knew was changed, and the
 reverse of fortune was glorious to himfelf. The difgrace of Pætus
 gave him no anxiety. Having refolved to pay the laft funeral
 rites to the fllaughtered foldiers, whose bodies lay weltering on
 the field, he chofe, for that purpofe, the fon of the vanquifhed
 general, then a military tribune, and ordered him to march at
 the head of the companies appointed to perform that melancholy
 duty.

BOOK
XV.

A. U. C.

816.

A. D.

63

duty. On the day fixed for the convention (*a*), Tiberius Alexander, a Roman knight, who had been sent by Nero to superintend the operations of the campaign, and with him Vivianus Annius, son-in-law to Corbulo, but not yet of senatorian age (*b*), though, in the absence of his superior officer, he was appointed to command the fifth legion, arrived in the camp of Tiridates, in the character of hostages, chosen, not only to remove from the mind of the prince all suspicion, but at the same time to do him honour. The Parthian and the Roman general proceeded to the interview, each attended by twenty horsemen. As soon as they drew near, Tiridates leaped from his horse. Corbulo returned the compliment. They advanced on foot, and took each other by the hand.

XXIX. THE Roman general addressed the prince. He praised the judgment of a young man, who had the moderation to prefer pacific measures to the calamities of war. Tiridates expatiated on the splendour of his illustrious line, and then taking a milder tone, agreed to set out on a journey to Rome. In a juncture when the affairs of Parthia were in a flourishing state, a prince, descended from the Arsacides humbling himself before the emperor, would present to the Roman people a new scene of glory. It was then settled as a preliminary article, that Tiridates should lay down the regal diadem at the foot of Nero's statue, and never again resume it, till delivered to him by the hand of the emperor. The parties embraced each other, and the convention ended.

In a few days afterwards the two armies were drawn out with great military pomp. On one side stood the Parthian cavalry, ranged in battalions, with all the pride of eastern magnificence. The Roman legions appeared on the opposite ground, the eagles glittering to the eye, the banners displayed, and the images of
the

the gods, in regular order, forming a kind of temple. In the centre stood a tribunal, and upon it a currule chair supporting the statue of Nero. Tiridates approached. Having immolated victims with the usual rites, he took the diadem from his brow, and laid it at the foot of the statue. The spectators gazed with earnest ardour, and every bosom heaved with mixed emotions. The place where the legions were besieged and forced to capitulate was before the eye, and the same spot exhibited a reverse of fortune. They saw Tiridates on the point of setting out for Rome, a spectacle to the nations through which he was to pass, and to exhibit, in the presence of Nero, the humble condition of a suppliant prince; how little better than a captive!

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
816.
A. D.
63.

XXX. To the glory resulting from these events Corbulo added the graceful qualities of affability and condescension. He invited Tiridates to a banquet. The prince was struck with the novelty of Roman manners. Every object awakened his curiosity. He desired to know the reason of all that he observed. When the watch (*a*) was stationed, why was it announced by a centurion? Why did the company, when the banquet closed, rise from table at the sound of a trumpet? And why was the fire on the augural altar lighted with a torch? The Roman general answered all enquiries, not without partiality for his country. He aggrandized every thing, and gave the Parthian the noblest idea of the manners and institutions of the ancient Romans. On the following day Tiridates desired reasonable time to prepare for so long a journey, and, before he undertook it, desired that he might be at liberty to visit his mother and his brothers. His request was granted. The prince delivered up his daughter, as a hostage, and dispatched letters to Nero in terms of submission.

XXXI. HE met his two brothers, Pacorus in Media, and Vologeses.

B O O K
XV.A. U. C.
816.
A. D.
63.

Vologeses at Ecbatana (*a*). The Parthian king was not inattentive to the interest of Tiridates. He had already sent dispatches to Corbulo, requesting that his brother should not be disgraced by any circumstance that looked like a badge of slavery; that he should not be obliged to surrender his sword; that the honour of embracing the governors (*b*) of the several provinces should not be denied to him; that he should not undergo the humiliating affront of waiting at their gates, or in their antichambers; and that at Rome he should be treated with all the marks of distinction usually paid to the consuls. The truth is, the Parthian king, trained up in all the pride of despotism, knew but little of the Romans. He was not informed, that it is the character and policy of that people to maintain, with zeal, the substantial interests of the empire, without any regard to petty formalities, the mere shadow of dominion.

XXXII. IN the course of the year Nero granted the rights and privileges of Latium to the maritime nations (*a*) at the foot of the Alps. He likewise assigned to the Roman knights distinct seats in the circus, advancing them before the space allotted to the populace. Till this regulation took place, the knights were mixed indiscriminately with the multitude, the Roscian law (*b*) extending to no more than fourteen rows of the theatre. A spectacle of gladiators was exhibited this year, in nothing inferior to the magnificence displayed on former occasions; but a number of senators, and women of illustrious rank, descended into the arena (*c*), and, by exhibiting their persons in the lists, brought disgrace on themselves and their families.

A. U. C.
817.
A. D.
64.

XXXIII. IN the consulship of Caius Læcanius and Marcus Licinius, Nero's passion for theatrical fame broke out with a degree of vehemence not to be resisted. He had hitherto performed

in private only, during the sports of the Roman youth, called the JUVENALIA ; but, upon those occasions, he was confined to his own palace or his gardens ; a sphere too limited for such bright ambition, and so fine a voice. He glowed with impatience to present himself before the public eye, but had not yet the courage to make his first appearance at Rome. Naples was deemed a Greek city, and, for that reason, a proper place to begin his career of glory. With the laurels, which he was there to acquire, he might pass over into Greece, and after gaining, by victory in song, the glorious crown which antiquity considered as a sacred prize, he might return to Rome, with his honours blooming round him, and by his celebrity inflame the curiosity of the populace. With this idea he pursued his plan. The theatre at Naples was crowded with spectators. Not only the inhabitants of the city, but a prodigious multitude from all the municipal towns and colonies in the neighbourhood, flocked together, attracted by the novelty of a spectacle so very extraordinary. All who followed the prince, to pay their court, or as persons belonging to his train, attended on the occasion. The menial servants, and even the common soldiers, were admitted to enjoy the pleasures of the day.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
817.
A. D.
64.

XXXIV. THE theatre, of course, was crowded. An accident happened, which men in general considered as an evil omen : with the emperor it passed for a certain sign of the favour and protection of the gods. As soon as the audience dispersed, the theatre tumbled to pieces. No other mischief followed. Nero seized the opportunity to compose hymns of gratitude. He sung them himself, celebrating with melodious airs his happy escape from the ruin. Being now determined to cross the Adriatic, he stopt at Beneventum. At that place Vatinius entertained him with a shew of gladiators. Of all the detestable characters that

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

817.

A. D.

64.

disgraced the court of Nero, this man was the most pernicious. He was bred up in a shoe-maker's stall. Deformed in his person, he possessed a vein of ribaldry and vulgar humour, which qualified him to succeed as buffoon. In the character of a jester he recommended himself to notice, but soon forsook his scurrility for the trade of an informer; and having by the ruin of the worthiest citizens arrived at eminence in guilt, he rose to wealth and power, the most dangerous miscreant of that evil period!

XXXV. NERO was a constant spectator of the sports exhibited at Beneventum; but even amidst his diversions his heart knew no pause from cruelty. He compelled Torquatus Silanus to put an end to his life, for no other reason, than because he united to the splendor of the Junian family the honour of being great grandson to Augustus (*a*). The prosecutors, suborned for the business, alleged against him, that, having prodigally wasted his fortune in gifts and largesses, he had no resource left but war and civil commotion. With that design he retained about his person men of rank and distinction, employed in various offices: he had his secretaries, his treasurers, and paymasters, all in the style of imperial dignity, even then anticipating what his ambition aimed at. This charge being made in form, such of his freedmen as were known to be in the confidence of their master were seized, and loaded with fetters. Silanus saw that his doom was impending, and, to prevent the sentence of condemnation, opened the veins of both his arms. Nero, according to his custom, expressed himself in terms of lenity. "The guilt of Silanus," he said, "was manifest; and, though, by an act of despair, he shewed that his crimes admitted no defence, his life would have been spared, had he thought proper to trust to the clemency of his judge."

XXXVI. IN

XXXVI. IN a short time after, Nero, for reasons not sufficiently explained, resolved to defer his expedition into Greece. He returned to Rome, cherishing in imagination a new design to visit the eastern nations, and Ægypt in particular. This project had been for some time settled in his mind. He announced it by a proclamation, in which he assured the people, that his absence would be of short duration, and, in the interval, the peace and good order of the commonwealth would be in no kind of danger. For the success of his voyage he went to offer up prayers in the capitol. He proceeded thence to the temple of Vesta. Being there seized with a sudden tremor in every joint, arising either from a superstitious fear of the goddesses, or from a troubled conscience, which never ceased to goad and persecute him, he renounced his enterprize altogether, artfully pretending that the love of his country, which he felt warm at his heart, was dearer to him than all other considerations. “I have seen,” he said, “the dejected looks of the people; I have heard the murmurs of complaint: the idea of so long a voyage afflicts the citizens; and, indeed, how should it be otherwise, when the shortest excursion I could make was always sure to depress their spirits? The sight of their prince has, at all times, been their comfort and their best support. In private families the pleges of natural affection can soften the resolutions of a father, and mould him to their purpose: the people of Rome have the same ascendant over the mind of their sovereign. I feel their influence; I yield to their wishes.” With these and such like expressions he amused the multitude. Their love of public spectacles made them eager for his presence, and, above all, they dreaded, if he left the capitol, a dearth of provisions. The senate and the leading men looked on with indifference, unable to decide which was most to be dreaded, his presence in the city, or his tyranny at a distance. They agreed at length (as in alarm-

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
817.
A. D.
64.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

817.

A. D.

64.

ing cafes fear is always in hafte to conclude) that what happened was the worft evil that could befall them.

XXXVII. NERO wished it to be believed that Rome was the place in which he moft delighted. To diffufe this opinion, he eftablifhed convivial meetings in all the fquares and public places (*a*). The whole city feemed to be his houfe. Of the various feafts given upon this occafion, that, which was prepared for the prince by Tigellinus, exceeded in profufion and luxury every thing of the kind. I fhall here give a defcription of this celebrated entertainment, that the reader, from one example, may form his idea of the prodigality of the times, and that hiftory may not be encumbered with a repetition of the fame enormities. Tigellinus gave his banquet on the lake of Agrippa (*b*), on a platform of prodigious fize (*c*), built for the reception of the guefts.

To move this magnificent edifice to and fro on the water, he prepared a number of boats fuperbly decorated with gold and ivory. The rowers were a band of Pathics. Each had his ftation, according to his age, or his fkill in the fcience of debauchery. The country round was ranfacked for game and animals of the chafe: Fish was brought from every fea, and even from the ocean (*b*). On the borders of the lake brothels were erected, and filled with women of illuftrious rank. On the oppofite bank was feen a band of harlots, who made no fecret of their vices, or their perfons. In wanton dance and lascivious attitudes they difplayed their naked charms. When night came on, a fudden illumination from the adjacent groves and buildings blazed over the lake. A concert of mufic, vocal and inftrumental, enlivened the fcene. Nero rioted in all kinds of lascivious pleafure. Between lawful and unlawful gratifications he made no diftinction. Corruption

ruption seemed to be at a stand, if, at the end of a few days, he had not devised a new abomination to fill the measure of his crimes. He personated a woman, and in that character was given in marriage to one of his infamous herd, a Pathic, named Pythagoras (*d*). The emperor of Rome, with the affected airs of female delicacy, put on the nuptial veil. The augurs assisted at the ceremony; the portion of the bride was openly paid (*e*); the genial bed was displayed to view; nuptial torches were lighted up; the whole was public, not even excepting the endearments which, in a natural marriage, decency reserves for the shades of night.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.
817.
A. D.
64.

XXXVIII. A DREADFUL calamity followed in a short time after, by some ascribed to chance, and by others (*a*) to the execrable wickedness of Nero. The authority of historians is on both sides, and which preponderates it is not easy to determine. It is, however, certain, that of all the disasters that ever befel the city of Rome from the rage of fire, this was the worst, the most violent, and destructive. The flame broke out in that part of the circus which adjoins, on one side, to mount Palatine, and, on the other, to mount Cælius. It caught a number of shops stored with combustible goods, and, gathering force from the winds, spread with rapidity from one end of the circus to the other. Neither the thick walls of houses, nor the inclosure of temples, nor any other building, could check the rapid progress of the flames. A dreadful conflagration followed. The level parts of the city were destroyed. The fire communicated to the higher buildings, and, again laying hold of inferior places, spread with a degree of velocity that nothing could resist. The form of the streets, long and narrow, with frequent windings, and no regular opening, according to the plan of ancient Rome (*b*), contributed
to

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

817.

A. D.

64.

to increase the mischief. The shrieks and lamentations of women, the infirmities of age, and the weakness of the young and tender, added misery to the dreadful scene. Some endeavoured to provide for themselves, others to save their friends, in one part dragging along the lame and impotent; in another waiting to receive the tardy, or expecting relief themselves; they hurried, they lingered, they obstructed one another; they looked behind, and the fire broke out in front; they escaped from the flames, and in their place of refuge found no safety; the fire raged in every quarter; all were involved in one general conflagration.

The unhappy wretches fled to places remote, and thought themselves secure, but soon perceived the flames raging round them. Which way to turn, what to avoid, or what to seek, no one could tell. They crowded the streets; they fell prostrate on the ground; they lay stretched in the fields, in consternation and dismay resigned to their fate. Numbers lost their whole substance, even the tools and implements by which they gained their livelihood, and, in that distress, did not wish to survive. Others, wild with affliction for their friends and relations whom they could not save, embraced a voluntary death, and perished in the flames. During the whole of this dismal scene no man dared to attempt any thing that might check the violence of the dreadful calamity. A crew of incendiaries stood near at hand denouncing vengeance on all who offered to interfere. Some were so abandoned as to heap fuel on the flames. They threw in firebrands and flaming torches, proclaiming aloud, that they had authority for what they did. Whether, in fact, they had received such horrible orders, or, under that device, meant to plunder with greater licentiousness, cannot now be known.

XXXIX. DURING the whole of this terrible conflagration
Nero

Nero remained at Antium, without a thought of returning to the city, till the fire approached the building by which he had communicated the gardens of Mæcenas (*a*) with the imperial palace. All help, however, was too late. The palace, the contiguous edifices, and every house adjoining, were laid in ruins. To relieve the unhappy people, wandering in distress without a place of shelter, he opened the field of Mars, as also the magnificent buildings raised by Agrippa (*b*), and even his own imperial gardens (*c*). He ordered a number of sheds to be thrown up with all possible dispatch, for the use of the populace. Household utensils and all kinds of necessary implements were brought from Ostia, and other cities in the neighbourhood. The price of grain was reduced to three sesterces. For acts like these, munificent and well-timed, Nero might hope for a return of popular favour; but his expectations were in vain; no man was touched with gratitude. A report prevailed (*d*) that, while the city was in a blaze, Nero went to his own theatre, and there, mounting the stage, sung the destruction of Troy, as a happy allusion to the present misfortune.

XL. ON the sixth day the fire was subdued at the foot of mount Esquiline. This was effected, by demolishing a number of buildings, and thereby leaving a void space, where for want of materials the flame expired. The minds of men had scarce begun to recover from their consternation, when the fire broke out a second time with no less fury than before. This happened, however, in a more open quarter, where fewer lives were lost; but the temples of the gods, the porticos, and buildings raised for the decoration of the city, were levelled to the ground. The popular odium was now more inflamed than ever, as this second alarm began in the house of Tigellinus, formerly the mansion of Æmilius. A suspicion prevailed, that to build a new city, and give it his own name, was the ambition of Nero. Of the four-

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

817.

A. D.

64.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

87.

A. D.

64.

teen quarters, into which Rome was divided, four only were left entire, three were reduced to ashes, and the remaining seven presented nothing better than a heap of shattered houses, half in ruins.

XLI. THE number of houses, temples, and insulated mansions destroyed by the fire cannot be ascertained. But the most venerable monuments of antiquity, which the worship of ages had rendered sacred, were laid in ruins: amongst these were the temple dedicated to the moon by Servius Tullius; the fane and the great altar consecrated by Evander, the Arcadian, to Hercules, his visitor and his guest (*a*); the chapel of JUPITER STATOR (*b*), built by Romulus; the palace of Numa, and the temple of Vesta (*c*), with the tutelar gods of Rome. With these were consumed the trophies of so many victories, the inimitable works of the Grecian artists, with the precious monuments of literature and ancient genius, all at present remembered by men advanced in years, but irrecoverably lost. Not even the splendour, with which the new city rose out of the ruins of the old, could compensate for that lamented disaster. It did not escape observation, that the fire broke out on the fourteenth before the calends of July (*d*), a day remarkable for the conflagration kindled by the Senones, when those Barbarians took the city of Rome by storm, and burnt it to the ground. Men of reflection, who refined on every thing with minute curiosity, calculated the number of years, months and days, from the foundation of Rome to the firing of it by the Gauls; and from that calamity to the present they found the interval of time precisely the same.

XLII. NERO did not blush to convert to his own use the public ruins of his country. He built a magnificent palace (*a*), in which the objects that excited admiration were neither gold

nor precious stones. Those decorations, long since introduced by luxury, were grown stale, and hackneyed to the eye. A different species of magnificence was now consulted: expansive lakes and fields of vast extent were intermixed with pleasing variety; woods and forests stretched to an immeasurable length, presenting gloom and solitude amidst scenes of open space, where the eye wandered with surprise over an unbounded prospect. This prodigious plan was carried on under the direction of two surveyors, whose names were Severus and Celer. Bold and original in their projects, these men undertook to conquer nature, and to perform wonders even beyond the imagination and the riches of the prince. They promised to form a navigable canal from the lake Avernus (*b*) to the mouth of the Tiber. The experiment, like the genius of the men, was bold and grand; but it was to be carried over a long tract of barren land, and, in some places, through opposing mountains. The country round was parched and dry, without one humid spot, except the Pomptinian marsh (*c*), from which water could be expected. A scheme so vast could not be accomplished without immoderate labour, and, if practicable, the end was in no proportion to the expence and labour. But the prodigious and almost impossible had charms for the enterprising spirit of Nero. He began to hew a passage through the hills that surround the lake Avernus, and some traces of his deluded hopes are visible at this day.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
817.
A. D.
64.

XLIII. THE ground, which, after marking out his own domain, Nero left to the public, was not laid out for the new city in a hurry and without judgment, as was the case after the irruption of the Gauls. A regular plan was formed; the streets were made wide and long; the elevation (*a*) of the houses was defined, with an open area before the doors, and porticos (*b*) to secure and adorn the front. The expence of the porticos Nero under-

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

817.

A. D.

64.

took to defray out of his own revenue. He promised, besides, as soon as the work was finished, to clear the ground, and leave a clear space to every house, without any charge to the occupier. In order to excite a spirit of industry and emulation, he held forth rewards proportioned to the rank of each individual, provided the buildings were finished in a limited time. The rubbish, by his order, was removed to the marshes of Ostia, and the ships that brought corn up the river were to return loaded with the refuse of the workmen. Add to all this, the several houses, built on a new principle, were to be raised to a certain elevation, without beams or wood work, on arches of stone from the quarries of (*c*) Alba or Gabii; those materials being impervious, and of a nature to resist the force of fire. The springs of water, which had been before that time intercepted by individuals for their separate use, were no longer suffered to be diverted from their channel, but left to the care of commissioners, that the public might be properly supplied, and, in case of fire, have a reservoir at hand to stop the progress of the mischief.

It was also settled, that the houses should no longer be contiguous, with flight party-walls to divide them (*d*); but every house was to stand detached, surrounded and insulated by its own inclosure. These regulations, it must be admitted, were of public utility, and added much to the embellishment of the new city. But still the old plan of Rome was not without its advocates. It was thought more conducive to the health (*e*) of the inhabitants. The narrowness of the streets and the elevation of the buildings served to exclude the rays of the sun; whereas the more open space, having neither shade nor shelter, left men exposed to the intense heat of the day.

XLIV. THESE several regulations were, no doubt, the best that

former, one of Nero's freedmen, of a genius ready for any black design; the latter, a man of literature, with the Greek philosophy fluent in his mouth, and not one virtue at his heart. It was a report current at the time, that Seneca, wishing to throw from himself all responsibility for these impious acts, desired leave to retire to some part of Italy. Not being able to succeed in his request, he feigned a nervous disorder, and never stirred out of his room. If credit be due to some writers, a dose of poison was prepared for him by Cleonicus, one of his freedmen, by the instigation of Nero. The philosopher, however, warned by the same servant, whose courage failed him, or, perhaps, shielded from danger by his own wary disposition, escaped the snare. He lived at that very time on the most simple diet: wild apples, that grew in the woods, were his food; and water from the clear purling stream served to quench his thirst.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
817.
A. D.
64.

XLVI. ABOUT the same time a body of gladiators, detained in custody at Præneste (*a*), made an attempt to recover their liberty. The military guard was called out, and the tumult died away. The incident, notwithstanding, revived the memory of Spartacus (*b*). The calamities, that followed the daring enterprise of that adventurer, became the general topic, and filled the minds of all with dreadful apprehensions. Such is the genius of the populace, ever prone to sudden innovations, yet terrified at the approach of danger. In a few days after, advice was received, that the fleet had suffered by a violent storm. This was not an event of war, for there never was a period of such profound tranquillity; but Nero had ordered the ships, on a stated day, to assemble on the coast of Campania. The dangers of the sea never entered into his consideration. His orders were peremptory. The pilots, to mark their zeal, set sail in tempestuous weather from the port of Formia (*c*). While they were endeavouring to

double

BOOK
XV.

A. U. C.

817.

A. D.

64.

double the cape of Misenum, a squall of wind from the south threw them on the coast of Cumæ, where a number of the larger galleys, and almost all the smaller vessels, were dashed to pieces.

XLVII. TOWARDS the close of the year omens and prodigies filled the minds of the people with apprehensions of impending mischief. Such dreadful peals of thunder were never known. A comet appeared, and that phænomenon was a certain prelude to some bloody act to be committed by Nero. Monstrous births, such as men and beasts with double heads, were seen in the streets and public ways; and in the midst of sacrifices, which required victims big with young, the like conceptions fell from the entrails of animals slain at the altar. In the territory of Placentia (*a*) a calf was dropped with its head growing at the extreme part of the leg. The construction of the soothsayers was, that another head was preparing for the government of the world, but would prove weak, insufficient, and be soon detected, like the monstrous productions, which did not rest concealed in the womb, but came before their time, and lay exposed to public view near the high road.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

XLVIII. SILIUS NERVA and Atticus Vestinus entered on their consulship. In that juncture a deep conspiracy was formed, and carried on with such a spirit of enterprise, that in the moment of its birth it was almost ripe for execution. Senators, Roman knights, military men, and even women gave in their names with emulation, all incited by their zeal for Caius Piso, and their detestation of Nero. Piso was descended from the house of Calpurnius, by his paternal line related to the first families in Rome. His virtues, or his amiable qualities that resembled virtues, made him the idol of the people. An orator of high distinction, he employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow citizens ;

possessed of great wealth, he was generous to his friends; by nature courteous, he was affable and polite to all. To these accomplishments he united a graceful figure and an engaging countenance. In his moral conduct neither strict nor regular; he led a life of voluptuous ease, fond of pomp and splendour, and, at times, free and luxurious in his pleasures. His irregularities served to grace his character. At a time when vice had charms for all orders of men, it was not expected, that the sovereign should lead a life of austerity and self-denial.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

XLIX. THE conspiracy did not originate from the ambition of Piso. Among so many bold and generous spirits it is not easy to name the person who first set the whole in motion. Subrius Flavius, a tribune of the prætorian guards, and Sulpicius Asper, were the active leaders. The firmness with which they afterwards met their fate sufficiently marks their characters. Annæus Lucan, the celebrated poet, and Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, entered into the plot with ardour and inflamed resentment. Lucan had personal provocations: Nero was an enemy to his rising fame: not being able to vie with that eminent genius, he ordered him not to make his verses public, determined to silence what he vainly strove to emulate. Lateranus brought with him no private animosity: he acted on nobler principles; the love of his country inspired him, and he knew no other motive. Flavius Scevinus and Afranius Quinctianus, both of senatorian rank, stood forward to guide the enterprise with a degree of spirit little expected from the tenour of their lives. Scevinus, addicted to his pleasures, passed his days in luxury, sloth, and languor. Quinctianus was decried for the effeminacy of his manners. Nero had lampooned him in a copy of defamatory verses, and to revenge the injury Quinctianus became a patriot.

L. THE

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

L. THE conspirators had frequent meetings. They inveighed against the vices of Nero; they painted forth in glaring colours all his atrocious deeds, by which the empire was brought to the brink of ruin; they urged the necessity of choosing a successor equal to the task of restoring a distressed and tottering state, and, in the interval, enlisted in their confederacy several Roman knights, namely, Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Festus. Senecio, the first in the list, had lived in the closest intimacy with the prince, and, being still obliged to wear the mask, he found the interval big with anxiety, mistrust, and danger. Antonius Natalis was the bosom-friend and confidential agent of Piso: the rest had their separate views, and in a revolution hoped to find their private advantage. There were, besides Subrius Flavius and Sulpicius Asper already mentioned, a number of military men ready to draw their swords in the cause. In this class were Granius Silvanus and Statius Proximus, both tribunes of the prætorian bands; Maximus Scaurus and Venetus Paullus, two centurions. But the main strength and pillar of the party was Fenius Rufus (*a*), commander in chief of the Prætorian guards; a man of principle, and for the integrity of his conduct esteemed and honoured by the people. But Tigellinus stood in higher favour with the prince, and by his cruel devices no less than by his taste for riot and debauchery, so ingratiated himself, that he was able to supplant the prætorian præfect, and by secret accusations to endanger his life. He represented him to Nero as the favoured lover of Agrippina (*b*), still cherishing a regard for her memory, and lying in wait for an opportunity to revenge her wrongs.

Rufus inclined to the discontented party, and, at length, declared

clared himself willing to assist their enterprise. Encouraged by this accession of strength, the conspirators began to think of the decisive blow, and to deliberate about the time and place. We are told that Subrius Flavius resolved to take to himself the glory of the deed. Two different schemes occurred to him. One was, while the prince was singing on the stage, to dispatch him in sight of the whole theatre. His second project was, while Nero was rambling abroad in his midnight frolics, to set fire to the palace, and, in the tumult, to take him by surprise, unattended by his guards. The last seemed to be the safest measure. The tyrant, unseen and unassisted, would fall a devoted victim, and die in solitude. On the other hand, the idea of a brave exploit, performed in the presence of applauding numbers, fired the generous ardour of that heroic mind. But prudential considerations had too much weight. He wished to gain immortal fame, and he thought of his own personal safety; a tame reflection, always adverse to every great and noble enterprise.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

LI. WHILE the conspirators lingered in suspense, prolonging the awful period of their hopes and fears, a woman, of the name of Epicharis, apprised of the plot (by what means is still a mystery), began to animate their drooping spirit, and to blame their cold delay. What made her conduct singular on this occasion was, that, before this time, not one great or honourable sentiment was ever known to have entered her heart. Seeing the business languish, she retired in disgust, and went into Campania. But a spirit like hers could not be at rest. She endeavoured to seduce the officers of the fleet then lying at Misenum. She began her approaches to Volusius Proculus, an officer who had under his command a thousand marines. He was one of the assassins employed in the tragic catastrophe of Nero's mother. His reward, he thought, was in no proportion to the magnitude of the

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

518.

A. D.

65.

crime. Being known to Epicharis, or having then contracted a recent friendship, he began to disclose the secrets of his heart. He enumerated his exploits in Nero's service, and complained of the ingratitude with which he was ill requited; avowing, at the same time, a fixed resolution to revenge himself, whenever an opportunity offered. The woman, from this discourse, conceived hopes of gaining a proselyte, and by his means a number of others. She saw that a revolt in the fleet would be of the greatest moment. Nero was fond of sailing parties on the coast of Misenum and Puteoli, and would, by consequence, put himself in the power of the mariners.

Epicharis entered into close conference with Proculus; she recapitulated the various acts of cruelty committed by Nero. The fathers, she said, had no doubt remaining; they were of one mind; all agreed, that a tyrant, who overturned the laws and constitution of his country, ought to fall a sacrifice to an injured people. She added, that Proculus would do well to co-operate with the friends of liberty. If he kindled the same spirit in the minds of the soldiers, a sure reward would wait him. In the fervour of her zeal, she had the prudence to conceal the names of the conspirators. That precaution served to screen her afterwards, when the marine officer turned informer, and betrayed the whole to Nero. She was cited to answer, and confronted with her accuser; but the charge, resting entirely on the evidence of one man, without a circumstance to support it, was easily eluded. Epicharis, notwithstanding, was detained in custody. Nero's suspicions were not to be removed. The accusation was destitute of proof, but he was not the less inclined to believe the worst.

LII. THE undaunted firmness of Epicharis did not quiet the apprehensions of the conspirators. Dreading a discovery, they deter-

determined to execute their purpose without delay. The place they fixed upon was a villa belonging to Piso, in the neighbourhood of Baiæ, where the emperor, attracted by the beauties of that delightful spot, was used to enjoy the pleasure of bathing, and his convivial parties, divested of his guards, and unincumbered by the parade of state. Piso objected to the measure. "What would the world say, if his table were imbrued with blood, and the gods of hospitality violated by the murder of a prince, however detested for his atrocious deeds? Rome was the proper theatre for such a catastrophe. The scene should be in his own palace, that haughty mansion built with the spoils of plundered citizens. The blow for liberty would be still more noble before an assembly of the people. The actions of men, who dared nobly for the public, should be seen by the public eye."

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

Such were the objections advanced by Piso in the presence of the conspirators: in his heart he had other reasons. He dreaded Lucius Silanus (*a*), knowing his high descent, and the rare accomplishments which he had acquired under the care of Caius Cæsius (*b*), who had trained him from his youth, and formed his mind to every thing great and honourable. A man thus distinguished might aspire to the imperial dignity. All who stood aloof from the conspiracy would be ready to second his ambition, and, most probably, would be joined by others, whom the fate of a devoted prince, cut off by treachery, might touch with compassion. Piso was supposed to have another secret motive: he knew the genius and the ardent spirit of Vestinus, the consul. A man of his character might think of restoring the old republic, or be for choosing another emperor, to shew mankind that the sovereign power was a gift to be disposed of according to his will and pleasure. Vestinus, in fact, had no share in the conspiracy, though he was

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

65.

afterwards charged as an accomplice, and, under that pretence, doomed to death by the unappeasable malice and the cruelty of Nero.

LIII. At length the conspirators fixed their day. They chose the time of the public games, which were soon to be performed in the circus, according to established usage, in honour of Ceres. During that festival, the emperor, who rarely shewed himself to the people, but remained sequestered in his palace or his gardens, would not fail to attend his favourite diversions; and, in that scene of gaiety, access to his person would not be difficult. The assault was to be made in the following manner. Lateranus, a man of undaunted resolution, and an athletic form, was to approach the prince, with an humble air of supplication, as if to entreat relief for himself and family; and, in the act of falling at his feet, to overthrow him by some sudden exertion, and by his weight keep him stretched on the ground. In that condition the tribunes, the centurions, and the rest of the conspirators, as the opportunity offered, and as courage prompted, were to fall on, and sacrifice their victim to the just resentments of the people.

Scevinus claimed the honour of being the first to strike. For this purpose, he had taken a dagger from the temple of Health, in Etruria, or, as some writers will have it, from the temple of Fortune, in the city of Ferentum. This instrument he carried constantly about him, as a sacred weapon, dedicated to the cause of liberty. It was further settled, that, during the tumult, Piso was to take his post in the temple of Ceres, and there remain till such time as Fenius and his confederates should call him forth, and conduct him to the camp. To conciliate the favour of the people, Antonia, the daughter of the late emperor, was to appear in the cavalcade,

This.

This last circumstance, since it is related by Pliny, must rest upon his authority. If it came from a less respectable quarter, I should not think myself at liberty to suppress it; but it may be proper to ask, Is it probable that Antonia would hazard her reputation, and even her life, in a project so uncertain, and so big with danger? Is it probable that Piso, distinguished by his conjugal affection, could agree at once to abandon a wife whom he loved, and marry another to gratify his own wild ambition? But it may be said, of all the passions that inflame the human mind, ambition is the most fierce and ardent, of power to extinguish every other sentiment.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

LIV. IN a conspiracy like the present, so widely diffused among persons of different ages, rank, sex, and condition, some of them poor, and others rich, it may well be matter of wonder, that nothing transpired, till the discovery burst out at once from the house of Scevinus. This active partizan, on the day preceding the intended execution of the plot, had a long conference with Antonius Natalis; after which he returned home, and, having sealed his will, unsheathed his sacred dagger, already mentioned. Finding it blunted by long disuse, he gave it to Milichus, his freedman, to be well whetted, and sharpened at the point. In the mean time, he went to his meal, more sumptuously served than had been his custom. To his favourite slaves he granted their freedom, and among the rest distributed sums of money. He affected an air of gaiety; he talked of indifferent things, with counterfeited cheerfulness; but a cloud hung over him, and too plainly shewed, that some grand design was labouring in his breast. He desired the same Milichus to prepare bandages for the bracing of wounds, and applications to stop the effusion of blood. If this man was, before that time, apprised of the plot, he had till then acted with integrity; but
the

BOOK
XV.

the more probable opinion is, that he was never trusted, and now from all the circumstances drew his own conclusion.

A. U. C.

S18.

A. D.

65.

The reward of treachery no sooner presented itself to the servile mind of an enfranchised slave, than he saw wealth and power inviting him to betray his master. The temptation was bright and dazzling; every principle gave way; the life of his patron was set at nought; and for the gift of freedom no sense of gratitude remained. He advised with his wife, and female advice was the worst he could take. The woman, with all the art and malice of her sex, alarmed his fears. Other slaves, she said, and other freedmen had an eye on all that passed. The silence of one could be of no use. The whole would be brought to light; and he, who first made the discovery, would be entitled to the reward.

LV. AT the dawn of day Milichus made the best of his way to the gardens of Servilius. Being refused admittance, he declared that he had business of the first importance, nothing less than the discovery of a dark and dangerous conspiracy. The porter conducted him to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's freedmen, who introduced him to the presence of his master. Milichus informed the emperor of his danger, and laid open the machinations of his enemies, with all that he knew and all that he conjectured. He produced the dagger, destined to give the mortal stab, and desired to be confronted with the criminal.

Scevinus was seized by the soldiers, and dragged in custody to answer the charge. "The dagger," he said, "was a sacred relic, left to him by his ancestors. He had preserved it with
"veneration, and kept it safe in his chamber, till the perfidy of
"a slave surreptitiously conveyed it away. As to his will, he
"had

“ had often changed it, often signed and sealed a new one, with-
 “ out any distinction of days. He had been always generous to
 “ his domestics; nor was it now for the first time that he had
 “ given freedom to some, and to others liberal donations. If in
 “ the last instance his bounty exceeded the former measure, the
 “ reason was, that being reduced in his circumstances, and pressed
 “ by his debts, he was afraid that his will would be declared void
 “ in favour of his creditors. With regard to his table, it was well
 “ known that his style of living had ever been elegant, and even
 “ profuse, to a degree that drew upon him the censure of rigid
 “ moralists. To the preparation of bandages and styptics he was
 “ an utter stranger. None were made by his order. The whole
 “ was the invention of a vile informer, who found himself desti-
 “ tute of proof, and, to prop his infamous calumny, dared to
 “ fabricate a new charge, at once the author and the witness of
 “ a lie.” This defence was uttered by Scevinus in a tone of
 firmness, and the intrepidity of his manner gave it strength and
 credit. He pronounced the informer a notorious profligate, and,
 by consequence, an incompetent witness. This he urged with
 such an air of confidence, and with so much energy, that the in-
 formation would have fallen to the ground, if the wife of Mili-
 chus had not observed, in the presence of her husband, that a long
 and secret interview had taken place between the prisoner and
 Natalis, both connected in the closest friendship with Caius Piso.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

LVI. NATALIS was cited to appear. Scevinus and he were
 examined apart, touching their late meeting. What was their
 business? and what was the conversation that passed between
 them? Their answers did not agree. Fresh suspicions arose, and
 both were loaded with irons. At the sight of the rack, their
 resolution failed. Natalis was the first to confess the guilt. He
 knew all the particulars of the conspiracy, and was, by conse-
 quence,

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

quence, able to support his information. He named Caius Piso, and proceeded next to Seneca. He had, probably, been employed as a messenger between Seneca and Piso; or, knowing the inveterate rancour with which Nero sought the destruction of his tutor, he intended by that charge, however false, to make terms for himself. Scevinus, as soon as he heard that Natalis had made a discovery, saw the inutility of remaining silent. Thinking the whole conspiracy detected, he yielded to his fears; and, following a mean example of pusillanimity, discovered his accomplices. Three of the number, namely, Lucan, Quinctianus, and Senecio, persisted for some time to deny the whole with undaunted firmness, till induced, at length, by a promise of pardon, they thought they could not do enough to atone for their obstinacy. Lucan did not scruple to impeach (*a*) his own mother, whose name was Acilia. Quinctianus gave information against Glicius Gallus, his dearest friend; and Senecio, in like manner, betrayed Annus Pollio.

LVII. NERO did not forget that Epicharis was still detained in custody, on the evidence of Volusius Proculus. The weakness of a female frame, he imagined, would not be able to endure the pangs of the rack. He therefore ordered her to be put to the most exquisite torture. But neither stripes, nor fire, nor the brutal rage of the executioners, who were determined not to be baffled by a woman, could subdue a mind like hers, firm, constant, and undaunted to the last. Not a word was extorted from her. Her misery ended for that day. On the next, the same cruelty was prepared. Epicharis had no strength left. Her limbs were rent and dislocated. The executioners provided a chair to convey her to the place of torture. While they were conducting her, she took from her breast the girdle that braced her garment, and, having fastened one end of it to the top of the chair, made
a noose

a noose for her neck, and, throwing herself from her seat, hung suspended with the whole weight of her body. In her mangled condition the remains of life were soon extinguished.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

Such was the fate of this magnanimous woman. She left behind her a glorious example of truth and constancy, the more striking, as this generous part was acted by an enfranchised slave, to save the lives of men, in no degree related to her, and almost unknown. With heroic fortitude she endured the worst that malice could inflict, at a time when men of illustrious birth, when officers, Roman knights and senators, untried by the pangs of torture, betrayed, with a kind of emulation, their friends, their relations, and all that was dear to them. Quinctianus, Senecio, and even Lucan continued to give in the names of the conspirators. Every new discovery filled Nero with consternation, though he had doubled his guard and taken every precaution to secure his person.

LVIII. PARTIES of soldiers under arms were stationed in every quarter, on the walls of Rome, on the sea-coast, and along the banks of the Tiber. The city presented the appearance of a garrisoned town. The forum and the open squares were filled with cohorts of horse and foot. The neighbouring villages and the country round were invested. Even private houses were secured. The German soldiers, ordered out on duty, mixed with the rest of the army. Being foreigners, Nero depended on their fidelity. The conspirators were led forth in a long procession to the tribunal of the prince. They stood in crowds at his garden-gate, waiting their turn to be summoned before him. In regular succession they were admitted to an audience, and every trifle was magnified into a crime. A smile, a look, a whisper, a casual meeting at a convivial party, or a public show, was evidence of

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

treason. Nor was it sufficient that Nero and Tigellinus were keen and vehement in their enquiries: Fenius Rufus took an active part. Having hitherto escaped detection, he thought that violence against his accomplices would be the best way to screen himself. While he was eagerly pressing them with questions, Subrius Flavius, the prætorian tribune, by signs and tokens, signified to him his intention to cut off the tyrant in the midst of the examination. He had his hand on the hilt of his sword, when Rufus checked the brave design.

LIX. ON the first detection of the plot, while Milichus was giving his evidence, and Scevinus was still wavering and irresolute, some of the conspirators exhorted Piso to shew himself in the camp, or to mount the public rostra, in order to gain the affections of the army and the people. "Let your friends," they said, "assemble in a body; let them stand forth in your cause, and they will be joined by numbers. The fame of an impending revolution would excite a general spirit; and fame in great undertakings has been often known to decide the event. Nero will be taken by surprise; on his part no measures are concerted. In sudden commotions the bravest are often struck with terror; and if courage may be thus overpowered, what will be the case of a theatrical emperor, a scenic performer, a vile comedian, assisted by Tigellinus and his band of harlots? In all great enterprises the attempt appears impracticable to little minds; but the brave and valiant know that to dare is to conquer. In a plot, in which numbers were embarked, the silence of all could not be expected. The mind will waver, and the body will shrink from pain. There is no secret so deeply laid but bribery will draw it forth, or cruelty can extort it. The guards in a short time might seize Piso himself, and drag him to an ignominious death. How much more glo-

rious

“ rious to fall bravely in the cause of liberty ! to die sword in
 “ hand, vindicating the rights of freeborn men, and rousing the
 “ army and the people to their own just defence ! The soldiers
 “ may refuse to join, and the people may be guilty of treachery
 “ to themselves ; but, even in that case, how noble to close the
 “ scene with a spirit worthy of your ancestors, blest with the
 “ wishes of the present age and the applause of all posterity !”

BOOK
 XV.

A. U. C.
 818.
 A. D.
 65.

These exhortations made no impression on Piso. He retired to his own house, and there fortified his mind against the worst that could happen. A band of soldiers broke in upon him, all selected from the recruits lately raised, undisciplined, and new to the service, but preferred by Nero to the veterans, whom he suspected of disaffection. Piso ordered the veins of both his arms to be opened, and expired : his will was a disgrace to his memory. It was written in a strain of fulsome flattery to the prince. He was betrayed into that act of meanness by his affection for his wife, a woman destitute of merit, who had great elegance of form, and nothing else to recommend her. Her name was Arria Galla. She had been married to Domitius Silius, and from him seduced by Piso. The passive spirit of the injured husband and the wanton character of the wife conspired to fix an indelible stain on the name of Piso.

LX. PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, consul elect, was the next victim. He was seized, and dragged to instant death ; no time allowed to take the last farewell of his children, nor even the usual liberty of choosing his own mode of dying. He was hurried to the place of execution usually allotted to slaves, and there dispatched by the hand of Statius, a military tribune. He met his fate with a noble and determined silence, not so much as con-

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

descending to tax the executioner with his share in the conspiracy.

The next exploit of Nero was the death of Seneca. Against that eminent man no proof of guilt appeared ; but the emperor thirsted for his blood, and what poison had not accomplished he was determined to finish by the sword. Natalis was the only person who had mentioned his name. The chief head of his accusation was, " That he himself had been sent on a visit to Seneca, then " confined by illness, with instructions to mention to him, that " Piso often called at his house, but never could gain admittance, " though it was the interest of both to live on terms of mutual " friendship." To this Seneca made answer, " That private in- " terviews could be of no service to either ; but still his happiness " was grafted on the safety of Piso." Granius Silvanus, a tribune of the prætorian guards, was dispatched to Seneca, with directions to let him know what was alleged against him, and to enquire, whether he admitted the conversation stated by Natalis, with the answers given by himself. Seneca, by design or accident, was that very day on his return from Campania. He stopt at a villa of his own (*a*) about four miles from Rome. Towards the close of day the tribune arrived, and beset the house with a band of foldiers. Seneca was at supper with his wife Pompeia Paulina, and two of his friends, when Silvanus entered the room, and reported the orders of the emperor.

LXI. SENECA did not hesitate to acknowledge that Natalis had been at his house, with a complaint that Piso's visits were not received. His apology, he said, imported no more than want of health, the love of ease, and the necessity of attending to a weak and crazy constitution. " That he should prefer the " interest

“ interest of a private citizen to his own safety, was too absurd
 “ to be believed. He had no motives to induce him to pay such
 “ a compliment to any man: adulation was no part of his cha-
 “ racter. This is a truth well known to Nero himself: he can
 “ tell you that, on various occasions, he found in Seneca a man,
 “ who spoke his mind with freedom, and disdained the arts of
 “ servile flattery.” Silvanus returned to Rome. He found the
 prince in company with Poppæa and Tigellinus, who, as often
 as cruelty was in agitation, formed the cabinet-council. In their
 presence the messenger reported his answer. Nero asked, “ Does
 “ Seneca prepare to end his days by a voluntary death?” “ He
 “ shewed,” said the tribune, “ no symptom of fear, no token of sorrow,
 “ no dejected passion: his words and looks bespoke a mind serene,
 “ erect and firm.” “ Return,” said Nero, “ and tell him, he must
 “ resolve to die.” Silvanus, according to the account of Fabius
 Rusticus, chose to go back by a different road. He went through a
 private way to Fenius Rufus, to advise with that officer, whe-
 ther he should execute the emperor’s orders. Rufus told him
 that he must obey. Such was the degenerate spirit of the times.
 A general panic took possession of every mind. This very Sil-
 vanus was one of the conspirators, and yet was base enough to
 be an instrument of the cruelty which he had combined to re-
 venge. He had, however, the decency to avoid the shock of
 seeing Seneca, and of delivering in person the fatal message. He
 sent a centurion to perform that office for him.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

LXII. SENECA heard the message with calm composure. He
 called for his will, and being deprived of that right of a Roman
 citizen by the centurion, he turned to his friends, and “ You see,”
 he said, “ that I am not at liberty to requite your services with
 “ the last marks of my esteem. One thing, however, still remains.
 “ I leave you the example of my life, the best and most precious
 “ legacy

B O O K
XV.A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

“ legacy now in my power. Cherish it in your memory, and
 “ you will gain at once the applause due to virtue, and the fame
 “ of a sincere and generous friendship.” All who were present
 melted into tears. He endeavoured to assuage their sorrows;
 he offered his advice with mild persuasion; he used the tone of
 authority. “ Where,” he said, “ are the precepts of philosophy,
 “ and where the words of wisdom, which for years have taught
 “ us to meet the calamities of life with firmness and a well pre-
 “ pared spirit? Was the cruelty of Nero unknown to any of us?
 “ He murdered his mother; he destroyed his brother; and, after
 “ those deeds of horror, what remains to fill the measure of his
 “ guilt but the death of his guardian and his tutor?”

LXIII. HAVING delivered himself in these pathetic terms, he
 directed his attention to his wife. He clasped her in his arms,
 and in that fond embrace yielded for a while to the tenderness of
 his nature. Recovering his resolution, he entreated her to ap-
 pease her grief, and bear in mind that his life was spent in a con-
 stant course of honour and of virtue. That consideration would
 serve to heal affliction, and sweeten all her sorrows. Paulina
 was still inconsolable. She was determined to die with her hus-
 band; she invoked the aid of the executioners, and begged to
 end her wretched being. Seneca saw that she was animated by
 the love of glory, and that generous principle he thought ought
 not to be restrained. The idea of leaving a beloved object ex-
 posed to the insults of the world, and the malice of her enemies,
 pierced him to the quick. “ It has been my care,” he said, “ to
 “ instruct you in that best philosophy, the art of mitigating the
 “ ills of life; but you prefer an honourable death. I will not
 “ envy you the vast renown that must attend your fall. Since
 “ you will have it so, we will die together. We will leave behind
 “ us an example of equal constancy; but the glory will be all
 “ your own.”

These words were no sooner uttered, than the veins of both their arms were opened. At Seneca's time of life the blood was flow and languid. The decay of nature, and the impoverishing diet (*a*) to which he had used himself, left him in a feeble condition. He ordered the vessels of his legs and joints to be punctured. After that operation, he began to labour with excruciating pains. Lest his sufferings should overpower the constancy of his wife, or the sight of her afflictions prove too much for his own sensibility, he persuaded her to retire into another room. His eloquence still continued to flow with its usual purity. He called for his secretaries, and dictated, while life was ebbing away, that farewell discourse, which has been published, and is in every body's hands. I will not injure his last words by giving the substance in another form.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

LXIV. NERO had conceived no antipathy to Paulina. If she perished with her husband, he began to dread the public execration. That he might not multiply the horrors of his present cruelty, he sent orders to exempt Paulina from the stroke of death. The slaves and freedmen, by the direction of the soldiers, bound up her arm, and stopped the effusion of blood. This, it is said, was done without her knowledge, as she lay in a state of languor. The fact, however, cannot be known with certainty. Vulgar malignity, which is ever ready to detract from exalted virtue, spread a report, that, as long as she had reason to think that the rage of Nero was implacable, she had the ambition to share the glory of her husband's fate; but a milder prospect being unexpectedly presented, the charms of life gained admission to her heart, and triumphed over her constancy. She lived a few years longer, in fond regret, to the end of her days, revering the memory of her husband. The weakness of her whole frame,
and

BOOK
XV.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

•5.

and the sickly languor of her countenance, plainly shewed that she had been reduced to the last extremity.

Seneca lingered in pain. The approach of death was slow, and he wished for his dissolution. Fatigued with pain, worn out and exhausted, he requested his friend, Statius Annæus, whose fidelity and medical skill he had often experienced, to administer a draught of that swift-speeding poison (*a*), usually given at Athens to the criminals adjudged to death. He swallowed the potion, but without any immediate effect. His limbs were chilled: the vessels of his body were closed, and the ingredients, though keen and subtle, could not arrest the principles of life. He desired to be placed in a warm bath. Being conveyed according to his desire, he sprinkled his slaves with the water, and "Thus," he said, "I MAKE LIBATION TO JUPITER THE DELIVERER." The vapour soon overpowered him, and he breathed his last. His body, without any funeral pomp, was committed to the flames. He had given directions for that purpose in his last will, made at a time when he was in the zenith of power, and even then looked forward to the close of his days.

LXV. A REPORT was at that time current at Rome, that Subrius Flavius and several centurions held a private meeting, with the knowledge and consent of Seneca, and there resolved to open a new and unexpected scene. The blow for liberty was to be struck in the name of Piso, and as soon as the world was freed from the tyranny of Nero, Piso was to be the next victim, in order to make way for Seneca, who, for his virtues, was to be raised to the highest elevation, with an air of innocence, and of a man unconscious of the plot. The very words of Flavius were reported among the people. He is supposed to have said, "What good end will it answer to depose a MINSTREL, if we place a

" TRA-

“ TRAGEDIAN in his room ?” The fact was, Nero played on his guitar, and Piso trod the stage in the buskin of tragedy.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

LXVI. THE part, which the military men had taken in the conspiracy, did not long remain a secret. The double game played by Fenius Rufus, at first a confederate in the plot, and then a judge pronouncing sentence on his accomplices, provoked the indignation of all. In the examination of Scevinus that officer pressed his interrogatories with over-acted zeal, and by menaces endeavoured to extort a confession. Scevinus answered with a smile, “ No man knows the particulars better than your-
“ self. You now may shew your gratitude to so good a prince.” Rufus was covered with confusion. To speak was not in his power, and to remain silent was dangerous. He trembled, faltered, and hesitated an answer. His embarrassment betrayed his guilt. The rest of the conspirators, with Cervarius Proculus, a Roman knight, at their head, were eager to depose against him. At length a foldier of the name of Cassius, remarkable for his robust stature, and for that reason ordered to attend, laid hold of Rufus by the emperor’s order, and loaded him with irons.

LXVII. THE same witnesses gave evidence against Subrius Flavius. In answer to the charge, he relied much on his course of life, and the dissimilitude of manners between himself and his accusers. “ Was it probable that a foldier, inured to the profession
“ of arms, would associate with an effeminate set of men, strang-
“ ers to danger and to manly enterprise !” Finding himself pressed by the weight of evidence, he changed his tone, and with heroic fortitude avowed the part he had acted. Being asked by Nero, what could induce him to forget the solemn obligation of his oath ? “ Because,” he said, “ I hated, I detested
“ you. There was a time when no foldier in your army was

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

“ more devoted to your service, and that was as long as you
 “ deserved the esteem of mankind. I began to hate you when
 “ you was guilty of parricide; when you murdered your
 “ mother, and destroyed your wife; when you became a coach-
 “ man, a comedian, and an incendiary.” I have given the very
 words of this intrepid conspirator, because they were not, like
 those of Seneca, published to the world; and the rough sentiments
 of a soldier, in his own plain, but vigorous language, merit the
 attention of posterity.

In the whole discovery of the plot nothing made so deep an
 impression on the mind of Nero. Though his heart never knew
 remorse for the worst of crimes, his ear, unaccustomed to the
 voice of truth, shrunk from the sound of freedom, and startled at
 reproach. Flavius was ordered for execution. Veianus Niger,
 one of the tribunes, led him to the next field, and there directed
 a trench to be opened. The prisoner surveyed the spot, and,
 finding it neither wide nor deep enough, turned with a smile to
 the soldiers, and “ This,” he said, “ shews no military skill.” Niger
 desired him to extend his neck with courage: “ Strike,” said
 Flavius, “ and prove your courage equal to mine.” The tri-
 bune was seized with a tremor in every joint. He severed the
 head at two blows, and made a merit of it with Nero, giving
 the name of cruelty to his want of firmness. He made it his
 boast, that, by repeating the stroke, he made him die twice.

LXVIII. SULPICIUS ASPER, the centurion, gave the next
 example of magnanimity. Being asked by Nero, why he con-
 spired against his life? he answered shortly, “ I knew no other
 “ relief from your flagitious deeds.” He was instantly put to
 death. The rest of the centurions underwent their fate, and all
 died worthy of their characters. Fenius Rufus had not equal
 constancy.

constancy. He betrayed an abject spirit, and even in his will was weak enough to bewail his unhappy fate. Nero lived in hopes of seeing Vestinus, the consul, charged as a criminal. He knew the character of the man; an intrepid daring spirit, ambitious, and suspected of disaffection. The conspirators, however, had no communication of counsels with that active magistrate. Some declined him on account of former animosities, and others, because they thought him rash and impetuous. Nero's rancour grew out of a close and intimate friendship. In that familiar intercourse Vestinus saw into the very heart of the prince, and despised him for his vices. Nero shrunk from a man, who had the spirit to speak his mind with freedom, and, in his sarcastic vein, had often made the prince the subject of his raillery; and raillery, when seasoned with truth, never fails to leave a sting that festers in the memory. A recent incident gave an edge to Nero's resentment. Vestinus married Statilia Messalina (*a*), though he knew that the prince was one of her lovers.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

LXIX. No witness appeared against Vestinus; no crime was laid to his charge, and, by consequence, no proceeding could be had in due form of law. But the will of the tyrant still remained. He sent Gerellanus, one of the tribunes, at the head of a cohort, with orders so to take his measures, that the consul might not be able to stand on the defensive, and, for that purpose, to invest his house, which, like a proud citadel, overlooked the forum, and contained a numerous train of young and hardy slaves, in the nature of a garrison. Vestinus had that very day discharged all the functions of his consular office. He was at table with his friends, free from apprehension, or, it may be, affecting an air of gaiety, when the soldiers entered, and informed him that the tribune had important business with him. He rose and left the room. The scene of death was instantly laid. He was shut up

B O O K
XV.A. U. C.
818.A. D.
65.

in a chamber; a physician attended; his veins were opened; he was conducted to a warm bath, and, being put into the water, expired without a complaint, and without a groan. His guests, in the mean time, remained in the banqueting room, imprisoned by the guards. It was late at night before they were released. Nero heard the account with pleasure. He saw, in the sport of his imagination, a set of men assembled at a convivial party, and every moment expecting their final doom. He laughed at their distress, and said facetiously, "They have paid for their consular supper."

LXX. LUCAN, the famous poet, was the next sacrifice to the vengeance of Nero. His blood flowed freely from him, and being soon well nigh exhausted, he perceived that the vital heat had left the extremities of his limbs. His hands and feet were chilled, but, the warmth retiring to his heart, he still retained his senses and the vigour of his mind. The lines in his poem, which describe a soldier dying in the same condition (*a*), occurred to his memory. He repeated the passage, and expired. His own verses were the last words he uttered. Senecio, Quinctianus, and Scævius, suffered in a short time after. The dissolute softness of their lives did not disgrace them in their end. They met their fate with resolution. The rest of the conspirators were led to execution. In their deaths there was nothing that merits particular notice.

LXXI. WHILE the city presented a scene of blood, and funerals darkened all the streets, the altars of the capitol smoked with victims slaughtered on the occasion. One had lost a son; another was deprived of his brother, his friend, or his near relation; and yet, stifling every sentiment of the heart, all concurred in offering thanks to the gods; they adorned the prince's house with

with laurel (*a*); they fell at the tyrant's feet; they clasped his knees, and printed kisses on his hand. Nero received this vile adulation as the token of real joy. In order to make sure of the people, he shewed his clemency to Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus, whose merit consisted altogether in their treachery to their friends. To Milichus he granted a rich and ample recompense, and moreover added the honourable appellation of a Greek name, importing the CONSERVATOR. Granius Silvanus, one of the tribunes engaged in the conspiracy, received a free pardon; but, disdaining to enjoy it, he died by his own hand. Statius Proximus had the vanity to follow his example. Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, and Statius Domitius were all degraded from their tribunitian rank, not as men condemned, but suspected of disaffection. Novius Priscus, Glitius Gallus, and Annus Pollio were ordered into exile; the first on account of his known intimacy with Seneca; and the two last, to disgrace them, though not convicted of any crime. Antonia Flaccilla, the wife of Novius Priscus, followed her husband into banishment. Egnatia Maximilla, at that time possessed of great wealth, had the spirit, in like manner, to adhere to Glitius Gallus. Her fortune was soon after taken from her by the hand of power. Her conduct, both in affluence and poverty, did honour to her character.

B O O K
XV.
A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

Rufius Crispinus was likewise banished: the conspiracy furnished a pretext, but his having been married to Poppæa was the crime that brought on his ruin. Verginius (*b*) and Musonius Rufus (*c*) owed their banishment to the celebrity of their names: the former trained the Roman youth to eloquence, and the latter formed their minds by his lectures on wisdom and philosophy. At one sweep, Clavidienus Quietus, Julius Agrippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Priscus, and Julius Altinus, like a colony of criminals,

B O O K
XV.A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

criminals, were sent to islands in the Ægean sea. Cadicia, the wife of Scevinus, and Cæsonius Maximus were ordered out of Italy, without being heard in their defence. The sentence of condemnation was the first notice of any crime alleged against them. Acilia, the mother of Lucan, was neither pardoned, nor condemned. She was suffered to live in silent obscurity.

LXXII. HAVING performed these dreadful exploits, Nero called an assembly of the soldiers, and, after a specious harangue, ordered a largess of a thousand sesterces to be paid to each man, and the corn, which they had been used to purchase at the market-price, to be distributed as the bounty of the prince. He then ordered the senate to be convened, with as much importance as if the events of war and splendid victories occasioned the meeting. He granted triumphal ornaments to Petronius Turpilianus (*a*), of consular rank, to Cocceius Nerva (*b*), prætor elect, and Tigellinus, commander of the prætorian guards. The two last were mentioned by him in strains of the highest commendation. Not content with erecting their statues in the forum, adorned with triumphal decorations, he placed them also in the imperial palace. Nymphidius (*c*) was honoured with the ensigns of consular dignity. Of this man, who now occurs for the first time, since he is to figure hereafter on the stage of public business, it may be proper in this place to say a few words.

He was the son of an enfranchised female slave, distinguished by her beauty, and the ease with which she granted her favours to the slaves as well as the freedmen about the court. Nymphidius, however, pretended to be of higher origin. He called himself the son of Caligula. His large stature, and the stern cast of his countenance, bore some resemblance to that emperor; and, in fact, as Caligula was never delicate in the choice of his mistresses,

treffes, but was known to share the embraces of common harlots, it is possible that he might, on some occasion, indulge his passion with the mother of Nymphidius.

B O O K
XV.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

LXXIII. THE senate being assembled, Nero delivered a speech on the subject of the late transactions, and, for the information of the people, issued a proclamation, with a statement of the evidence against the conspirators, and their own confession. The clamours of the public made this expedient necessary. While the executions were going on, the public voice was loud and violent against Nero, the insatiate tyrant, who was daily sacrificing to his cruelty, or his fears, the lives of innocent and illustrious men. That a plot was actually formed; that it was conducted with resolution, and in the end was totally defeated, no man, who made it his business to investigate the truth, entertained a doubt at the time; and since the death of Nero, the acknowledgment of all, who returned from banishment, established the fact beyond a controversy. Nero was received by the senate with the basest flattery. In that assembly, the men, who had the greatest reason to be overwhelmed with grief, were the most forward to offer incense to the emperor. Junius Gallio (*a*), the brother of Seneca, was, by the loss of that excellent man, so struck with terror, that to save his own life he descended to humble supplications. Salienus Clemens rose to oppose him, as a parricide and an enemy to the state. He continued his invective till the fathers checked his violence. It was not now, they said, a time to gratify personal animosity, under an appearance of zeal for the public good; nor would it become any man to open again the wounds which the clemency of the prince had closed for ever.

LXXIV. OBLATIONS and public thanksgivings were decreed to all the gods, and particularly to the Sun, in whose temple, situated

BOOK
XV.

A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
63.

situated in the forum, the murder was to have been perpetrated, if that god had not dispelled the clouds that hung over the machinations of evil minded men, and brought their dark proceedings into open day-light. It was further ordered, that the sports of the circus, in honour of Ceres, should be celebrated with an additional number of chariot-races; that the month of April (*a*) should be styled after the name of Nero; and that, on the spot, where Scevinus furnished himself with a dagger, a temple should be erected to the GODDESS OF SAFETY. The dagger itself was dedicated in the capitol, with an inscription to the avenging god, called JUPITER VINDEX. The inscription, at that time, had no equivocal meaning; but soon after, when JULIUS VINDEX (*b*) excited a revolt in Gaul, it was considered as an omen of impending vengeance.

In the journals of the senate I find an entry, by which it appears, that Cerealis Anicius, consul elect, moved in his place, that a temple should be raised, at the public expence, to the DEIFIED NERO, who, in his opinion, had risen above the condition of human nature, and was, therefore, entitled to religious worship. This motion was afterwards understood to portend nothing less than the death of Nero; since it was a settled rule, that divine honours should never be paid to the emperor, till he ceased to be mortal (*c*).

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

BOOK XVI.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XVI.

- I. **N**ERO is amused with hopes of finding great stores of hidden treasure in Africa. One Cefellius Bassus, deluded by his dreams, communicated the secret, and thence the wild prodigality of the prince. IV. The quinquennial games. Nero contends for the victory in song and eloquence. He mounts the public stage. Vespasian (afterwards emperor) in danger from Nero's spies stationed in the playhouse. VI The death of Poppæa; her funeral: Nero delivers her panegyric. VII. C. Cassius and L. Silanus sent into exile. Lepida left to the judgment of the prince. X. L. Vetus, Sextia, and Pollutia put to death. XII. The months of May and June called by the names of Claudius and Germanicus. XIII. An uncommon tempest in Campania, and epidemic disorders at Rome. XIV. Anteius and Ostorius compelled to put an end to their lives. XVII. Annæus Mela (the father of Lucan the poet) and Cerealis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, and Petronius, ordered to die. XVIII. Character of Petronius. XIX. His behaviour in his last moments. XX. Silia banished on suspicion of being the person that discovered Nero's secret vices. XXI. Nero bent on the destruction of Pætus Thrasea, and Bareas Soranus. XXII. Cossutianus accuses Thrasea. XXIII. Ostorius Sabinus undertakes the charge against Bareas Soranus. Nero fixes the destruction both of Thrasea and Soranus at the time when Tiridates arrives at Rome to be invested with the crown of Armenia. Thrasea debates with his friends whether

CONTENTS OF BOOK XVI.

it were best for him to attend the senate. Different opinions on the subject. XXVII. The senate-house surrounded with guards. XXVIII. Bitter speech of Eprius Marcellus against Thrasea. XXX. Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, involved in the same danger with her father. Her noble defence. Both condemned, as also Thrasea. The choice of their death left to themselves. Helvidius Priscus banished out of Italy. Montanus charged with writing a satirical poem against Nero; he is pardoned, but never to exercise any public office. The three accusers, Eprius Marcellus, Cossutianus, and Ostorius Sabinus amply rewarded. XXXIV. A quæstor sent to see Thrasea finish his days. The remarkable behaviour of Thrasea, and his noble advice to the quæstor.—The rest of this book is lost.

These transactions passed, partly in the former consulship, and in the following year.

Years of Rome—of Christ		Consuls
818	65	Silius Nerva, Atticus Vestrinus.
819	66	{ Caius Suetonius Paulinus, Caius Lucius Telefinus.

T H E
A N N A L S
O F
T A C I T U S.

B O O K XVI.

I. **N**ERO, in consequence of his own credulity, became in a short time afterwards the sport of fortune, and a subject of public derision. He believed the visionary schemes of Cæcellius Bassus, a native of Carthage, of a crazed imagination, who relied on whatever occurred to him in his distempered dreams. This man arrived at Rome, and, by the influence of money well applied, gained admission to the presence of the emperor. The secret, which he had to communicate, was, that on his own estate he had found a cavern of astonishing depth, in which were contained immense stores of gold, not wrought into the form of coin, but in rude and shapeless ingots, such as were in use in the early ages of the world. In one part of the cave
were

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

BOOK
XVI.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

were to be seen vast massy heaps, and in other places columns of gold towering to a prodigious height; the whole an immense treasure, reserved in obscurity to add to the splendour of Nero's reign. To give probability to his story, he pretended, that Dido, the Phœnician (*a*), when she fled from Tyre, and founded the city of Carthage, deposited her whole stock in the bowels of the earth, that so much wealth might neither prove the bane of a new colony, nor excite the avarice of the Numidian princes (*b*), of themselves already hostile to her infant state.

II. NERO neither weighed the character of the man, nor the circumstances of so wild a report. He had not even the precaution to send commissioners to inform themselves on the spot. He helped to spread the report; he began to count his riches, and dispatched his agents to transport the treasure to Rome. The light galleys were equipped with expedition, and a chosen band of mariners sent on board. Rome, in the mean time, was distracted with hope and fear, with doubt and expectation. No other subject was talked of. The common people, with their usual facility, believed every thing; while men of reflection argued in a different manner. It happened that the quinquennial games (*a*) were to close the second lustre of five years. During that festival, the expected treasure was the subject on which the orators expatiated, and the poets exhausted their invention. In their flights of fancy, the earth was no longer content with pouring forth fruit and grain, and producing metals intermixed with veins of precious ore; the present fecundity shewed that the gods were working miracles to bless the reign of Nero. These were the bright conceits, which flattery displayed with rapture, and eloquence adorned with her richest colouring. While the passions of Nero stood ready to receive every new device, fiction

passed

passed for truth, and nothing was too hyperbolical for the credulity of the prince.

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

III. WITH such immoderate riches in view, no wonder that Nero launched out into greater profusion than ever. Deluded by his hopes, and sure of a supply for years to come, he exhausted his treasury (*a*), and began to anticipate his imaginary funds. He made assignments on the property, and granted with generosity what was not in his possession. The expectation of enormous wealth made him the bubble of a madman, and impoverished the public. In the mean time Bassus, the grand projector, arrived at Carthage. In the presence of a number of soldiers, and a large body of peasants employed as labourers, he dug up his grounds, and made his experiment in the adjacent fields, disappointed in one place, sure of success in another, still confident, and still miscarrying; till at length, finding no subterraneous cave, and weary of the fruitless search, he abandoned his chimerical hopes, coming gradually to his senses, yet wondering, that, of all his dreams, the last should be the only one that deceived him. Covered with shame, and dreading the resentment of the emperor, he delivered himself from all his troubles by a voluntary death. According to some writers, he was instantly seized, and loaded with irons, till Nero ordered him to be released, but seized his effects, determined to enjoy the fortunes of a wild adventurer, since he could not obtain the wealth of Dido.

IV. THE time of contending for the prizes in the quinquennial games being near at hand, the senate, with intent to ward off from the emperor (*a*) the disgrace of being a candidate, offered to adjudge, in his favour, the victory in song, and the crown of eloquence. The fathers hoped, that honours freely granted

BOOK
XVI.

A. U. C.

813.

A. D.

65.

granted would satisfy the prince, and prevent a ridiculous display of theatrical talents. Nero returned for answer, that he stood in no need of favour or protection. He depended on himself alone, and would fairly enter the lists with his competitors. The equity of the judges was to decide, and by that test he was willing to stand or fall. With that spirit he entered the scene, and recited a poem of his own composition. The people, with earnest entreaty, prayed that he would let them taste the supreme delight of hearing and enjoying all his divine accomplishments. Such was the language of the populace. In compliance with their wishes, he mounted the public stage, conforming in all things to the rules of the orchestra, where no performer was to sit down, nor to wipe the sweat from his face with any thing but his own garment, and never to spit or clear his nostrils in sight of the audience. Having exhibited his skill, he went down on his knee, and stretching forth his hands with pretended agitations of hope and fear, waited in that humble posture for the decision of the judges. The populace, accustomed to applaud the notes and gesticulations of the common players, paid their tribute of admiration to the prince, with measured cadence, in one regular chorus of applause. You would have thought their joy sincere, and, perhaps, it was so in fact: the rabble wished to be diverted at any rate, and for the disgrace that befel the state vulgar minds felt no concern.

V. THINKING men were affected in a very different manner. All who came from the municipal towns, or the more remote parts of Italy, where some tincture of ancient manners still remained; and a considerable number, besides, who arrived from the provinces on public business, or their own private affairs, as yet strangers to vice, and undebauched by luxury, beheld the scene with heaviness of heart. A spectacle, in which the prince
exposed

exposed his frivolous talents, gave them the highest disgust. They thought the applause dishonest, but they were obliged to concur with the rest. They acted their part with warm, but awkward zeal. Their unpractised hands were easily tired; they were not able to keep time in the grand concert, and, exerting themselves without skill, they disturbed the general harmony. For every blunder they were chastised by the soldiers, who were stationed at their posts, with orders to take care, that the applause should be kept up with spirit, without an interval of rest, or silence. It is a certain fact, that several Roman knights, endeavouring to make their way through the crowd, were crushed to death in the narrow passes (*a*); and that others, who kept their seats in the theatre day and night, fell dangerously ill. The dread of being absent from such a performance was more alarming than the worst sickness that could happen. Besides the soldiers stationed in the theatre to superintend the audience, it is well known that a number of spies lay in ambush, to take down the names of the spectators, to watch their countenances, and note every symptom of disgust or pleasure. Offenders of mean condition were punished on the spot. Men of distinction were overlooked with an air of calm neglect, but resentment was only smothered for a time, to break out afterwards with deadly hate. We are told, that Vespasian, for the crime of being ready to fall asleep, was obliged to endure the insulting language of one Phœbus, an imperial freedman, and was saved from harsher treatment by the intercession of men of rank and influence. The offence, however, was not entirely forgotten; it remained in store for future vengeance; but Vespasian was reserved, by his superior destiny, for the highest elevation.

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

VI. THE public games were followed by the death of Poppea (*a*). She died of a kick on her womb, which Nero gave

BOOK
XVI.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

her in a sudden passion, though she was then advanced in her pregnancy. Some writers will have it that she was carried off by a dose of poison; but they assert it with more spleen than truth. Nero was desirous of having issue, and he loved his wife with sincere affection. Her body was not, according to the Roman custom (*b*), committed to the funeral pile, but, after the manner of the eastern kings, embalmed with precious spices (*c*), and deposited in the monument of the Julian family. The ceremony was performed with great pomp, and Nero pronounced the funeral oration. He was lavish in praise of her beauty; and the peculiar happiness of being the mother of an infant (*d*) enrolled among the gods, was a topic on which he dwelt with pleasure. By enlarging on that and other accidental circumstances, he made a panegyric, in which not one virtue could find a place.

VII. THE death of Poppæa occasioned a general face of mourning, but no real grief. Men remembered her loose incontinence, and, having felt her cruelty, rejoiced in secret at an event that freed the world from a woman of a detested character. Nero laboured under a load of reproach, and the public resentment rose still higher, when it was known that, by his orders, Cassius did not attend the funeral. That illustrious Roman understood the imperial mandate as the signal of his approaching ruin. In fact, his doom was fixed in a short time after, and Silanus was devoted with him. The crime of Cassius (*a*) was the splendid fortune which he inherited from his ancestors, and the austerity of his manners. Silanus offended by the nobility of his birth, and his modest merit. Nero sent a letter to the senate, stating in strong terms the necessity of removing them both from all civil offices. To Cassius he objected, that, among the images of his ancestors he preserved, with veneration, the picture of the famous Caius Cassius, with this inscription: THE
LEADER

LEADER OF THE PARTY. That circumstance plainly shewed the fullen spirit of a man brooding mischief; a fierce republican, who meditated another civil war, and a revolt from the house of Cæsar. But to revive the name of a daring factious chief was not sufficient for the purposes of a turbulent incendiary: he was charged with seducing Lucius Silanus, a youth descended from an illustrious line, bold, ambitious, enterprising, and in the hands of ill designing men a fit tool to spread the flame of rebellion.

B O O K
XVI.
A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

VIII. SILANUS (*a*) was no less an object of Nero's hatred. It was urged against him, as had been formerly done in the case of his uncle Torquatus, that he affected the style of imperial dignity, and had in his household train his mock-treasurers, his auditors of accounts, and his secretaries of state. Nothing could be more destitute of all foundation. Silanus saw the tyranny of those disastrous times, and from the fate of his uncle received a lesson of prudence. Lepida (*b*), the wife of Cassius, and aunt of Silanus, was also doomed to fall a sacrifice to the unrelenting fury of the prince. Informers were suborned to accuse her of incest with her nephew; and, to swell the charge, they imputed to her impious sacrifices, magic rites, and horrible incantations. Vulcatius Tullinus, and Marcellus Cornelius (*c*), of senatorian rank, with Calpurnius Fabatus, a Roman knight, were involved in the prosecution. They appealed to the tribunal of the emperor, and, by removing the cause, prevented a final sentence. Nero was, at that time, brooding over crimes of the deepest dye, and having nobler game in view, he disdained to stoop to an inferior quarry. The three last were saved by their want of importance.

IX. CASSIUS and Silanus were banished by a decree of the senate. The case of Lepida was referred to the prince. Cassius, in a short time after, was transported to the island of Sardinia,

BOOK
XVI.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

where Nero was content to leave him to old age and the decay of nature. Silanus was conveyed to Ostia, there, as was pretended, to embark for the isle of Naxos. He never reached that place. Barium (*a*), a municipal city of Apulia, was the last stage of his journey. He there supported life with a temper that gave dignity to undeserved misfortune, till a centurion, employed to commit the murder, rushed upon him abruptly. That officer advised him to open his veins. "Death," said Silanus, "has been familiar to my thoughts, but the honour of prescribing to me I shall not allow to a ruffian and a murderer." The centurion, seeing that he had to do with a man, unarmed indeed, but robust and vigorous, not a symptom of fear in his countenance, but, on the contrary, an eye that sparkled with indignation, gave orders to his soldiers to seize their prisoner. Silanus stood on the defensive: what man could do without a weapon he bravely dared, struggling, and dealing his blows about him, till he fell by the sword of the centurion, like a gallant officer, receiving honourable wounds, and facing his enemy to the last.

X. LUCIUS VETUS, and Sextia his mother-in-law, with Pollutia his daughter, died with equal fortitude. Nero thought them a living reproach to himself for the murder of Rubellius Plautus (*a*), the son-in-law of Lucius Vetus. The root of bitterness rankled in Nero's heart, till Fortunatus, one of the manumitted slaves of Vetus, gave him an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the whole family. The freedman had been employed by Vetus in the management of his affairs, and having defrauded his master, he thought it time to add treachery to peculation, and give evidence against his patron. In this black design he associated with himself one Claudius Demianus, a fellow of an abandoned character, who had been charged in Asia, while

Vetus

Vetus was proconsul of the province, with various crimes, and sent to Rome in fetters. To forward the prosecution, Nero set him at liberty.

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.
818.
A. D.
65.

Vetus heard, with indignation, that the evidence of a freedman was received against the life of his patron, and retired to his country-seat in the neighbourhood of Formiæ. A band of soldiers followed him, and beset his house. His daughter was then with him. A sense of former injuries was still fresh in her mind. She had seen her husband, Rubellius Plautus, massacred by a band of ruffians. Upon that occasion she opposed her person to the assassins' stroke: she clung to her husband's bleeding neck, and preserved the garment stained with his blood. From that time nothing could assuage her sorrows: she remained a widow, a prey to grief, inconsolable, loathing all food, except what was necessary for the support of nature. In the present distress, by her father's advice, she set off for Naples, where Nero then resided. Not being admitted to his presence, she watched the palace-gates, and, as soon as he came forth, she cried aloud, "Hear my father, hear an innocent man; he was your colleague (*b*) in the consulship; extend your mercy, nor let him fall a sacrifice to the pernicious arts of a vile abandoned slave." She persisted, as often as Nero passed, to renew her application, sometimes in tears and misery of heart; often in a tone of vehemence, roused by her sufferings above the weakness of her sex. But neither tears nor reproaches had any effect on the cruelty of Nero: insensible to both, and heedless of the popular hatred, he remained obdurate and implacable.

XI. POLLUTIA returned to her father, and, since not a ray of hope was left, exhorted him to meet his fate with a becoming spirit. Intelligence arrived at the same time, that preparations for

BOOK
XVI.A. U. C.
888.
A. D.
35.

for the trial were going on with rapidity, and that the senate shewed a disposition to pronounce the severest sentence. Among the friends of Cassius some were of opinion, that the surest way to secure part of his fortune for his grand-children, would be by making the emperor heir in chief. He rejected that advice as unworthy of his character. Having lived his days with a spirit of independance, he resolved to die with honour. He distributed the money then in his possession among his slaves, and ordered them to remove for their own use all the effects that could be carried off, with an exception of three couches, to serve as funeral beds for himself and his family.

They retired to die together. In the same chamber, and with the same instrument, the father, the mother-in-law, and the daughter opened their veins, and, without any other covering, than such as decency required, were conducted to a warm bath; the father with his eyes fixed upon his daughter; the grandmother gazing on the same object; and she, in return, looking with tender affection on both her parents; each of them wishing to avoid the pain of seeing the others in the pangs of death, and praying to be released. Nature pursued her own course. They died in the order of their respective ages, the oldest first. After their decease, a prosecution was carried on in due form of law, and all three were adjudged to capital punishment. Nero so far opposed the sentence, as to give them the liberty of choosing their mode of dying. When the tragedy was already performed, such was the farce that followed.

XII. PUBLIUS GALLUS, a Roman knight, for no other crime than his intimacy with Fenius Rufus (*a*), and some connection with Vetius, was interdicted from fire and water. The freedman of Vetius, who betrayed his master, and the accuser, who

who undertook the conduct of the prosecution, obtained, to reward their villany, a seat in the theatre among the officers who follow in the train of the tribunes. The month of April was already styled by the name of Nero (*b*), and, in like manner, May was changed to that of Claudius, and June to Germanicus. Cornelius Orfitus was the author of this innovation. His reason for the last was, because the two Torquati (*c*) suffered in the month of June, and that inauspicious name ought, therefore, to be abolished from the calendar.

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

65.

XIII. To the blood and horror, that made this year for ever memorable, we may add the vengeance of Heaven, declared in storms and tempests, and epidemic disorders. A violent hurricane made the country of Campania a scene of desolation; whole villages were overthrown; plantations were torn up by the roots, and the hopes of the year destroyed. The fury of the storm was felt in the neighbourhood of Rome, where, without any apparent cause in the atmosphere, a contagious distemper broke out, and swept away a vast number of the inhabitants. The houses were filled with dead bodies, and the streets with funeral processions. Neither sex nor age escaped. Slaves and men of ingenuous birth were carried off, without distinction, amidst the shrieks and lamentations of their wives and children. Numbers, while they assisted their expiring friends, or bewailed their loss, were suddenly seized, and burnt on the same funeral pile. The Roman knights and senators suffered the common lot of mortality; but death delivered them from the power of the tyrant, and, for that reason, they were not regretted.

In the course of the year new levies were made in Narbon Gaul, and likewise in Asia and Africa, in order to recruit the legions in Illyricum, at that time much reduced by the discharge
of

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

818.

A. D.

63.

of such as by age or infirmity were rendered unfit for service. The city of Lyons having before this time suffered a dreadful disaster (*a*), Nero, to relieve the inhabitants, ordered a remittance of forty thousand sesterces, being the amount of what that city granted (*b*) to the treasury of Rome in a period of distraction and public distress.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

XIV. CAIUS SUETONIUS and Lucius Tellestinus entered on the consulship. During their administration, Antistius Sosianus, formerly banished (*a*), as has been mentioned, for a satirical poem against Nero, began to think of regaining his liberty. He heard of the high estimation in which informers were held at Rome, and the bias of Nero's nature to acts of cruelty. A bold and restless spirit like his was ready for any project, and he possessed a promptitude of mind that quickly saw how to seize his opportunity. There was, at that time, an exile in the same place, famous for his skill in the arts of Chaldean astrology, and, on that account, intimate with several families. His name was Pammenes. Antistius entered into a league of friendship with him. Their mutual sufferings endeared them to each other. The astrologer had frequent consultations, and messengers were every day crowding to his house. Antistius judged that such a concourse could not be without reasons of important consequence. He found that Pammenes received an annual pension from Anteius; a man, on account of his attachment to Agrippina, obnoxious to the emperor, and by his riches likely to tempt the avarice of a prince, who had already cut off some of the most opulent and illustrious men in Rome.

Antistius kept a watchful eye upon his new friend. He intercepted letters from Anteius, and gained access to other secret papers, in which was contained a calculation of the nativity of
Anteius,

Anteius, with many particulars relating to the birth and future fortune of Ostorius Scapula (*b*). Armed with these materials, he represented, by letters to Nero, that he had discoveries of the first importance, involving even the safety of the prince, and, if he might revisit Rome for a few days, the whole should be brought to light, with all the machinations of Anteius and Ostorius Scapula, who, beyond all doubt, were engaged in a treasonable design, and had been prying into their own destiny, and that of the imperial house. In consequence of these letters, a light galley was dispatched, and Antistius was conveyed to Rome. His arrival, and the business on which he came, were no sooner known, than Anteius and Ostorius were considered as devoted victims, inasmuch that the former could not find a friend bold enough to be a witness to his will (*c*), till Tigellinus advised him to settle his affairs without loss of time. Anteius swallowed a dose of poison; but finding the operation slow and tedious, he opened his veins, and put a period to his existence.

B O O K
XVI.
A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

XV. OSTORIUS, at this time, was at a distance from Rome, amusing himself on his own estate near the confines of Liguria. A centurion was sent with orders to dispatch him. Nero had his reasons for desiring this business to be done with expedition. He knew the military character of Ostorius, and the high reputation, with which he had gained the civic crown in Britain (*a*). He dreaded a man renowned in arms, remarkable for his bodily vigour, and a thorough master of the art of war. From a general of his experience he lived in fear of a sudden attack, and the late conspiracy kept him in a constant alarm. The centurion obeyed his orders, and having first secured all the avenues round the house, communicated the emperor's orders. Ostorius turned against himself that courage which had often made the enemy fly before him. He opened his veins, but, though the incision

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

was large, the blood flowed with languor. He called a slave to his assistance, and having directed him to hold a poniard with a firm and steady hand, he laid hold of the man's arm, and applying his throat to the point, rushed on certain death.

XVI. IF the narrative, in which I am engaged, presented a detail of foreign wars, and a register of men, who died with honour in the service of their country, even in that case, a continued train of disasters, crowding fast upon one another, would fatigue the writer, and make the reader turn, with disgust, from so many tragic issues, honourable indeed, but dark, melancholy, and too much of a colour. How much more must the uniformity of the present subject be found irksome, and even repulsive! We have nothing before us but tame servility, and a deluge of blood spilt by a tyrant in the hour of peace. The heart recoils from the dismal story. But let it be remembered by those, who may hereafter think these events worthy of their notice, that I have discharged the duty of an historian, and if, in relating the fate of so many eminent citizens, who resigned their lives to the will of one man, I mingle tears with indignation, let me be allowed to feel for the unhappy. The truth is, the wrath of Heaven was bent against the Roman state. The calamities that followed cannot, like the slaughter of an army, or the sacking of a city, be painted forth in one general draught. Repeated murders must be given in succession; and, if the remains of illustrious men are distinguished by their funeral obsequies from the mass of the people, may it not be considered as a tribute due to their memory, that, in like manner, their deaths should be snatched from oblivion, and that history, in describing the last act of their lives, should give to each his distinct and proper character, for the information of posterity?

XVII. I PRO-

XVII. I PROCEED to add to the list of murdered citizens, Annæus Mela, Cerealis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, and Petronius. In the compass of a few days they were all cut off, as it were at one blow. Mela and Crispinus were no higher than Roman knights; but in fame and dignity of character equal to the most distinguished senators. Crispinus, at one time, commanded the prætorian bands; he was afterwards invested with the consular ornaments, but lately charged as an accomplice in the conspiracy, and banished to the island of Sardinia (*a*). At that place he received the emperor's mandate, and died by his own hand. Mela (*b*) was brother to Seneca and Gallio. He abstained through life from the pursuit of civil honours, vainly flattering himself, that a simple knight could rise to the highest splendour, and tower above the consular dignity. By remaining in his rank, he was qualified to act in the administration of the imperial revenue, and that employment he thought the shortest road to immoderate riches. He was the father of Lucan, the poet, and from such a son (*c*) derived additional lustre. When Lucan was no more, Mela endeavoured to recover the whole of his property (*d*); but proceeding with too much eagerness, he provoked the enmity of Fabius Romanus, one of the poet's intimate friends. This man framed a charge against the father. He accused him of being engaged with his son in the late conspiracy, and, for that purpose, forged several letters in the name of Lucan.

B O O K
XVI.
A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

Nero was eager to seize his prey: he panted for his riches, and with that view sent the letters as evidence of his guilt. Mela had recourse to the mode of death, at that time deemed the easiest, and, for that reason, most in vogue. He opened his veins, and expired. By his will he bequeathed a large sum to Tigellinus, and to his son-in-law, Cossutianus Capito, hoping by that bequest to secure the remainder for his family. A clause, it has been

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

said, was added to the will, asserting the innocence of the deceased, and the flagrant injustice of cutting him off, while such men as Rufus Crispinus and Anicius Cerealis were suffered to live in security, though they were both envenomed enemies of the prince. The clause, however, was thought to be fabricated, with a view to justify the murder of Crispinus, which was already perpetrated, and to hasten the sentence then in agitation against Cerealis, who, in a few days afterwards, dispatched himself. He fell unlamented. The public remembered that he formerly discovered a conspiracy (*e*) to Caligula, and, for that reason, no man regretted him in his end.

XVIII. WITH regard to Caius Petronius (*a*), his character, his course of life, and the singularity of his manners seem to merit particular attention. He passed his days in sleep, and his nights in business, or in joy and revelry. Indolence was at once his passion, and his road to fame. What others did by vigour and industry, he accomplished by his love of pleasure and luxurious ease. Unlike the men who profess to understand social enjoyment, and ruin their fortunes, he led a life of expence, without profusion; an epicure, yet not a prodigal; addicted to his appetites, but with taste and judgment; a refined and elegant voluptuary. Gay and airy in his conversation, he charmed by a certain graceful negligence, the more engaging as it flowed from the natural frankness of his disposition. With all this delicacy, and careless ease, he shewed, when he was governor of Bithynia, and, afterwards, in the year of his consulship, that vigour of mind and softness of manners may well unite in the same person. With his love of sensuality he possessed talents for business. From his public station he returned to his usual gratifications, fond of vice, or of pleasures that bordered upon it. His gaiety recommended him to the notice of the prince. Being

in favour at court, and cherished as the companion of Nero in all his select parties, he was allowed to be the arbiter of taste and elegance. Without the sanction of Petronius nothing was exquisite, nothing rare or delicious.

B O O K
XVI.
A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

Hence the jealousy of Tigellinus, who dreaded a rival, in the good graces of the emperor almost his equal; in the science of luxury his superior. Tigellinus determined to work his downfall; and, accordingly, addressed himself to the cruelty of the prince; that master-passion, to which all other affections and every motive were sure to give way. He charged Petronius with having lived in close intimacy with Scevinus (*b*), the conspirator; and, to give colour to that assertion, he bribed a slave to turn informer against his master. The rest of the domestics were loaded with irons. Nor was Petronius suffered to make his defence.

XIX. NERO, at that time, happened to be on one of his excursions into Campania. Petronius had followed him as far as Cuma, but was not allowed to proceed further than that place. He scorned to linger in doubt and fear, and yet was not in a hurry to leave a world which he loved. He opened his veins, and closed them again, at intervals losing a small quantity of blood, then binding up the orifice, as his own inclination prompted. He conversed during the whole time with his usual gaiety, never changing his habitual manner, nor talking sentences to shew his contempt of death. He listened to his friends, who endeavoured to entertain him, not with grave discourses on the immortality of the soul, or the moral wisdom of philosophers, but with strains of poetry, and verses of a gay and natural turn. He distributed presents to some of his servants, and ordered others to be chastised. He walked out for his amusement, and even lay down to sleep.

In

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

In this last scene of his life he acted with such calm tranquillity, that his death, though an act of necessity, seemed no more than the decline of nature. In his will he scorned to follow the example of others, who, like himself, died under the tyrant's stroke: he neither flattered the emperor, nor Tigellinus, nor any of the creatures of the court; but having written, under the fictitious names of profligate men and women, a narrative of Nero's debauchery, and his new modes of vice (*a*), he had the spirit to send to the emperor that satirical romance, sealed with his own seal, which he took care to break, that, after his death, it might not be used for the destruction of any person whatever.

XX. NERO saw, with surprise, his clandestine passions, and the secrets of his midnight revels, laid open to the world. To whom the discovery was to be imputed still remained a doubt. Amidst his conjectures, Silia, who by her marriage with a senator had risen into notice, occurred to his memory. This woman had often procured for the libidinous pleasures of the prince, and lived, besides, in close intimacy with Petronius. Nero concluded that she had betrayed him, and for that offence ordered her into banishment. Having made that sacrifice to his own resentment, he gave another victim to glut the rage of Tigellinus, namely, Numicius Thermus, a man of prætorian rank. An accusation preferred against the favourite, by a slave enfranchised by Thermus, was the cause that provoked the vengeance of Tigellinus. For that daring attempt against a man in power the informer suffered on the rack, and his patron, who had no concern in the business, was put to death.

XXI. NERO had not yet satiated his vindictive fury. He had spilt the best blood in Rome, and now, in the persons of Pætus Thrasea and Bareas Soranus, he hoped to destroy virtue
itself.

itself. His rancour to those two illustrious citizens had been long working in his heart. Thrasea, in particular, was the devoted object, and various motives conspired against him. When the business of Agrippina (*a*) was brought before the senate, it will be in the memory of the reader, that Thrasea withdrew from the debate. Afterwards, in the youthful sports, called JUVENALES, he seldom attended, and never with the alacrity which was expected. This cold indifference was the more grating to the prince, as Thrasea, at Padua, his native city, not only assisted at the games of the CESTUS, originally instituted by Antenor, the fugitive from Troy, but also performed in the habit of a tragedian. It was further remembered, that, when Antistius, the prætor, was in danger of being capitally condemned for his verses levelled at Nero, Thrasea was the author of a milder sentence (*b*). There was still another circumstance: when divine honours were decreed to Poppæa, he wilfully absented himself, nor did he afterwards attend her funeral. These offences were not suffered to sink into oblivion. The whole was treasured up by Cossutianus Capito (*c*), a man, who to a bad heart and talents for every species of iniquity united motives of personal ill-will to Thrasea, which he nourished in secret, ever since the victory obtained over him in a charge of extortion conducted by the deputies from Cilicia, and supported with all the credit and eloquence of Thrasea.

XXII. THE fertile genius of the prosecutor was not at a loss for new allegations. The heads of his charge were, “ That
 “ Thrasea made it a point to avoid renewing the oath of fidelity
 “ usual at the beginning of the year (*a*); and, though a member
 “ of the quindecemviral college, he never assisted at the cere-
 “ mony of offering vows for the safety of the prince, and the
 “ preservation of that melodious voice. A magistrate formerly

“ of

B. O. O. K.
XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

B O O K
XVI.A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

“ of unremitting assiduity, he took a part in every debate, sup-
 “ porting or opposing the most trifling motions; and now what
 “ is his conduct? For three years together he has not so much
 “ as entered the senate (*b*). Even on a late occasion, when the
 “ business relating to Silanus and Vetus drew the fathers to a
 “ crowded meeting, Thrasea was not at leisure; the affairs of
 “ his clients engrossed his attention, and the patriot was detained
 “ from the senate by his own petty concerns. What is this but
 “ a public secession! He is at the head of a faction, and if his
 “ partisans take fire from his example, a civil war must be the
 “ consequence. Cæsar and Cato were the names that formerly
 “ kept the world awake; at present, in a city ever rent by dis-
 “ cord, Nero and Thrasea engage the public mind.

“ The popular demagogue has his sectaries and his followers;
 “ a set of men not yet, like their master, ambitiously sententious,
 “ but, in imitation of his mien and manners, fullen, gloomy, and
 “ discontented. By the formalities of their rigid discipline they
 “ hope to throw disgrace on the gay and elegant manners of their
 “ sovereign. Your preservation, Nero, is of no moment to
 “ Thrasea: he disregards your safety; he despises your accom-
 “ plishments. Are your affairs in a train of prosperity? he is
 “ still dejected. Has any untoward event disturbed your peace
 “ of mind? he enjoys your distress, and in secret pampers him-
 “ self with your affliction. The same spirit, that refused to
 “ swear on the acts of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, denies the di-
 “ vinity of Poppæa. He turns religion to a jest, and sets the
 “ laws at defiance. The journals of the Roman people (*c*) were
 “ never read by the provinces and the armies with so much avi-
 “ dity, as in the present juncture; and the reason is, the history
 “ of the times is the history of Thrasea's contumacy.

“ If

“ If the system of this wise philosopher and profound poli-
 “ tician merits attention, let us, at once, embrace his doctrine ;
 “ if otherwise, let us take from the friends of innovation their
 “ leader and their oracle. The sect, whose precepts he affects to
 “ admire, has ever been proud and dogmatical, busy, bold, and
 “ turbulent. It was that stoic school that formed the Tuberos (*d*)
 “ and the Favonii ; names detested even by the old republic. And
 “ what is now the principle of the whole faction ? To subvert
 “ the fabric of a great empire they hold forth the name of liberty ;
 “ if they succeed, they will destroy even liberty itself. Of what
 “ use can it be to Nero, that he has banished a Cassius, if the
 “ followers of Brutus are still allowed to flourish, and multiply
 “ their numbers ? Upon the whole, you have no occasion, Cæsar,
 “ to write to the senate ; you need not mention Thrasea to that
 “ assembly : leave him to our management, and the judgment of
 “ the fathers.” Nero praised the zeal of Cossutianus, and added
 fury to a mind already bent on mischief. To forward his villany,
 he gave him for a coadjutor Eprius Marcellus, an orator of a
 turbulent spirit and overbearing eloquence.

B O O K
XVI.A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

XXIII. THE prosecution against Bareas Soranus was already
 in the hands of Ostorius Sabinus, a Roman knight. Soranus
 was returned from his proconsular government of Asia. His
 conduct in the province stood distinguished by justice and the
 rectitude of his measures ; but by the jealousy of Nero the virtues
 of the minister were converted into crimes. He had opened the
 port of Ephesus, and left unpunished the obstinate resistance of
 the people of Pergamus, who refused to let Acratus (*a*), one of
 the emperor's freedmen, carry off the statues and pictures that
 adorned their city. This meritorious conduct was an offence not
 to be forgiven ; but constructive crimes were to be held forth to
 the public. The heads of the accusation were, that Soranus had

BOOK
XVI,A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

contracted a close and intimate friendship with Plautus (*b*), and had endeavoured by popular arts to incite the eastern provinces to a revolt. To decide the fate of two upright citizens, Nero chose a juncture favourable to his dark design. Tiridates was on his way to Rome, to receive the diadem of Armenia from the hands of the emperor. He thought it probable, that, in the splendour of that magnificent scene, the horrors of domestic cruelty would be lost: perhaps, it seemed a fair opportunity to display to a foreign prince the grandeur of a Roman emperor, and convince him, by the murder of two eminent citizens, that the imperial power was nothing short of oriental despotism.

XXIV. THE city went forth in crowds to meet the emperor (*a*), and gaze at the eastern monarch. Thrasea received orders not to appear on the occasion. A mind like his was not to be disconcerted. With his usual fortitude he sent a memorial to the prince, requesting to know by what act of his life he had deserved such a mark of displeasure. He pledged himself, if a fair hearing were granted, to confute his enemies, and place his innocence in the clearest light. Nero received the memorial with eager curiosity, expecting to find that Thrasea, under the operation of fear, had descended to the language of flattery, and tarnished his own honour by magnifying the glory of the prince. Stung by disappointment, he refused to grant an audience. The sight of that illustrious citizen, the countenance, the spirit, and the virtue of the man, were too much to encounter. He ordered the senate to be convened. Thrasea, in the mean time, consulted with his friends, which would be most advisable, to enter at large into his defence, or to behave with silent indignation. They were divided in their opinions.

XXV. SOME advised him to enter the senate, and confront his

his enemies in the presence of that assembly. “ Of his constancy
 “ no doubt could be entertained ; they knew that nothing could
 “ fall from him unworthy of himself. Every word from his lips
 “ would tend to augment his glory. When danger threatened,
 “ to take shelter in the shade of obscurity, were the act of a de-
 “ generate spirit. For him, he ought to have the people round
 “ him to behold the scene ; a great man advancing bravely to
 “ meet his fate, would be a spectacle worthy of their applause.
 “ The senate would hear with astonishment the energy of truth,
 “ and the sublime of virtue. Every sentiment from the mouth
 “ of Thrasea would rise superior to humanity, and sound to the
 “ fathers as if some god addressed them. Even the heart of
 “ Nero might for once relent. Should it happen otherwise ;
 “ should his obdurate nature still persist, posterity would crown
 “ with immortal glory the undaunted citizen, who distinguished
 “ himself from those unhappy victims, who bowed their necks
 “ to the tyrant’s stroke, and crept in silence to their graves.”

B O O K
XVI.A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

XXVI. OTHERS were of a different opinion, convinced that
 his best plan would be to wait the issue at his own house. They
 spoke of Thrasea himself and the dignity of his character in the
 highest terms, but they dreaded that his adversaries would pour
 forth a torrent of insolence and opprobrious language. “ They
 “ desired that he would not suffer his ear to be wounded with
 “ scurrility and vile abuse. Cossutianus and Eprius Marcellus
 “ were not the only enemies of virtue : there were others, whose
 “ brutal rage might incite them to outrage, and even violence to
 “ his person. The cruelty of Nero left none at liberty. In a
 “ general panic good men might follow the worst example. It
 “ would become the character of Thrasea to rescue from infamy
 “ that august assembly, which his presence had so long adorned.
 “ If he did not attend the meeting, the part, which, after hearing

BOOK
XVI.A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

“Thrasea in his own defence, the fathers might have acted, will
 “remain problematical; and by that uncertainty the honour of
 “the senate may be saved. To hope that Nero would blush for
 “his crimes, were to misunderstand his character. His unrelent-
 “ing cruelty would most probably fall on Thrasea’s wife, on his
 “whole family, and all that were dear to him. For these rea-
 “sons, an eminent citizen, who had ever supported the honour
 “of his name, and still flourished with unblemished integrity,
 “would do well to remember who were the teachers of wisdom,
 “that furnished the principles and the model of his conduct.
 “Since he had crowded into his life all their virtues, it would be-
 “come him to emulate their glory in his fall.”

Arulenus Rusticus (*a*) assisted at this consultation. He was, at that time, a tribune of the people; a young man of sentiment, eager to be in action, and warm with the love of glory. He offered to interpose, by his tribunitian authority, to prevent a decree of the senate. “Forbear,” said Thrasea, “and learn, young man, to restrain this impetuous ardour. By a rash op-
 “position you cannot save your friend, and you may bring down
 “ruin on yourself. For me, I have lived my days; my course
 “is well nigh finished; it now remains, that I reach the goal
 “with undiminished honour. As to you, my friend, you have
 “but lately entered the career of civil dignities. Life is before
 “you, and you have not as yet pledged yourself to the public.
 “Ere you take a decided part, it will behove you to consider
 “well the times upon which you are fallen, and the principles
 “which you mean to avow.” Having thus declared his senti-
 ments, he gave no opinion concerning the propriety of appearing
 in the senate, but reserved the question for his own private
 meditation.

XXVII. ON the following day two prætorian cohorts, under arms, surrounded the temple of Venus. A body of citizens, with swords ill concealed beneath their gowns, invested all the avenues. In the forum, the open squares, and round the adjoining temples, bands of soldiers took their station, and through that military array the senators were obliged to pass, surrounded by soldiers and prætorian guards. The assembly was opened by Nero's quaestor (*a*), with a speech in the name of the prince, complaining, "That the fathers" (no particular name was mentioned) "deserted the public interest, and by their example taught the Roman knights to loiter away their time in sloth, and inattention to the welfare of the state. Nor could it be matter of wonder, that the senators from the distant provinces no longer attended their duty, when men of consular rank, and even of sacerdotal dignity, thought of nothing but the embellishment of their villas, and the beauty of their gardens and pleasure-grounds." This message was intended to be a weapon in the hands of the accusers, and their malice knew how to use it.

XXVIII. COSSUTIANUS took the lead. Eprius Marcellus followed him, with more force and acrimony. "The common-wealth," he said, "is on the brink of ruin. Certain turbulent spirits rear their crest so high, that no room is left for the milder virtues of the prince. The senate for some time past has been negligent, tame, and passive. Your lenity, conscript fathers, your lenity has given encouragement to sedition. It is in consequence of your indulgence that Thrasea presumes to trample on the laws; that his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus (*a*), adopts the same pernicious principles; that Paconius Agrippinus (*b*), with the inveterate hatred towards the house of Cæsar, which he inherits from his father, declares open hostility; and that Curtius Montanus (*c*), in seditious verses, spreads

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

BOOK
XVI.A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
55.

“ spreads abroad the venom of his pen. Where is Thrasea now?
 “ I want to see the man of consular rank in his place; I want to
 “ see the sacerdotal dignitary offering up vows for the emperor;
 “ I want to see the citizen taking the oaths of fidelity. Perhaps
 “ that haughty spirit towers above the laws and the religion of
 “ our ancestors; perhaps he means to throw off the mask, and
 “ own himself a traitor and an enemy to his country. Let him
 “ appear in this assembly; let the patriot come; let the leader
 “ of faction shew himself; the man who so often played the
 “ orator in this assembly, and took under his patronage the in-
 “ terate enemies of the prince. Let us hear his plan of govern-
 “ ment: what does he wish to change? What abuses does he
 “ mean to reform? If he came every day with objections, the
 “ cavilling spirit of the man might tease, perplex, and embarrass
 “ us; but now his sullen silence is worse; it condemns every
 “ thing in the gross. And why all this discontent? A settled
 “ peace prevails in every quarter of the empire: does that afflict
 “ him? Our armies, without the effusion of Roman blood, have
 “ been victorious: is that the cause of his disaffection? He
 “ sickens in the midst of prosperity; he repines at the flourishing
 “ state of his country; he deserts the forum; he avoids the
 “ theatre, and the temples of the city; he threatens to abjure
 “ his country, and retire into voluntary banishment; he acknow-
 “ ledges none of your laws; your decrees are to him no better
 “ than mockery; he owns no magistrates, and Rome to him is
 “ no longer Rome. Let him therefore be cut off at once from a
 “ city, where he has long lived an alien; the love of his country
 “ banished from his heart, and the people odious to his sight.”

XXIX. MARCELLUS delivered this invective in a strain of
 vehemence, that gave additional terror to the natural ferocity
 of a stern and savage countenance. His voice grew louder,
 his

his features more enlarged, and his eyes flashed with fire. The senate heard him, but with emotions unfelt before: the settled melancholy, which that black period made habitual, gave way to stronger feelings. They saw a band of soldiers round them, and they debated in the midst of swords and javelins. Thrasea was absent, but the venerable figure of the man presented itself to every imagination. They felt for Helvidius Priscus, who was doomed to suffer, not for imputed guilt, but because he was allied to an innocent and virtuous citizen. What was the crime of Agrippinus? The misfortunes of his father, cut off by the cruelty of Tiberius, rose in judgment against the son. The case of Montanus (*a*) was thought hard and oppressive. His poetry was a proof of genius, not of malice; and yet, for a pretended libel on the prince, a youth of expectation was to be driven from his country.

XXX. AMIDST the tumult and distraction which this business excited, Ostorius Sabinus, the accuser of Bareas Soranus, entered the senate. He opened at once, and charged as a crime, the friendship that subsisted between Soranus and Rubellius Plautus. He added, that the whole tenour of his administration in Asia was directed, not for the public good, but to promote his own popularity, and to spread a spirit of sedition through the provinces. These accusations had been long since fabricated, and were then grown threadbare; but the prosecutor was ready with a new allegation, which involved Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, in her father's danger. The charge against her was, that she had distributed sums of money among men skilled in judicial astrology. The fact was, Servilia, with no other motives than those of filial piety, had the imprudence, natural at her time of life, to apply to a set of fortune-tellers, in order to satisfy her mind about the fate of her family, and to learn whether Nero's
resentment

BOOK
XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

resentment was by any possibility to be appeased, and what would be the issue of the business in the senate.

She was cited to appear in the senate before the tribunal of the consuls. On one side stood the aged father; on the other his daughter, in the bloom of life, not having yet completed her twentieth year, but even then in a state of destitution, still lamenting the fate of her husband, Annius Pollio, lately torn from her, and condemned to banishment. She stood in silent sorrow, not daring to lift her eyes to her father, whom by her imprudent zeal she had involved in new misfortunes.

XXXI. THE accuser pressed her with questions. He desired to know, whether she had not sold her bridal ornaments, her jewels and her necklace, to supply herself with money for magic sacrifices? She fell prostrate on the ground, and wept in bitterness of heart. Her sorrows were too big for utterance. She embraced the altars, and rising suddenly, exclaimed with vehemence, "I have invoked no infernal gods; I have used no
" unhallowed rites, no magic, no incantations. My unhappy
" prayers asked no more than that you, Cæsar, and you, con-
" script fathers, would extend your protection to this best of
" men, this most affectionate parent. For him I sold my jewels;
" for him I disposed of my bridal ornaments, and for him I
" gave up the garments suited to my rank. In the same cause
" I was willing to sacrifice my life: the blood in my veins was
" at his service. The men whom I consulted were all strangers
" to me; I had no knowledge of them. They best can tell who
" they are, and what they profess. The name of the prince was
" never mentioned by me but with that respect, which I pay
" to the gods. What I did was my own act: that miserable
" man, my unhappy father, knew nothing of it. If any crime has
" been committed, he is innocent: I, and I alone am guilty."

XXXII. SORANUS

XXXII. SORANUS could no longer restrain himself. He interrupted his daughter, crying aloud, "She was not with me in Asia; she is too young to have any knowledge of Rubellius Plautus. In the accusation against her husband she was not involved; her filial piety is her only crime. Distinguish her case from mine; respect the cause of innocence, and on my head let your worst vengeance fall. I am ready to meet my fate." With these words, he rushed to embrace his child; she advanced to meet him, but the lictors interposed to prevent the pathetic scene. The witnesses were called in. The fathers had hitherto listened to all that passed, with emotions of pity; but pity was soon converted into a stronger passion. The appearance of Publius Egnatius (*a*), the client of Soranus, hired to give evidence against his patron and his friend, kindled a general indignation. This man professed himself a follower of the stoic sect. He had learned in that school to retail the maxims of virtue, and could teach his features to assume an air of simplicity, while fraud and perfidy, and avarice, lay lurking at his heart. The temptation of money drew forth his hidden character, and the hypocrite stood detected. His treachery gave a standing lesson to mankind, that, in the commerce of the world, it is not sufficient to guard against open and avowed iniquity, since the professors of friendship can, under a counterfeit resemblance of virtue, nourish the worst of vices, and prove, in the end, the most pernicious enemies.

XXXIII. THE same day produced a splendid example of truth and honour in the person of Cassius Asclepiodotus; a man distinguished by his wealth, and ranked with the most eminent inhabitants of Bithynia. Having loved and followed Soranus in his prosperity, he did not desert him in the hour of distress. He still adhered to him with unaltered friendship, and for his con-

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

B O O K
XVI.
A. U. C.
117.
A. D.
69.

Flancy was deprived of his all, and sent into banishment; the gods, in their just dispensations, permitting an example of virtue, even in ruin, to stand in contrast to successful villainy. Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia, were allowed to choose their mode of dying. Helvidius Priscus and Paconius Agrippinus were banished out of Italy. Montanus owed his pardon to the influence of his father, but was declared incapable of holding any public office. The prosecutors were amply rewarded. Eprius Marcellus and Cossutianus received each of them fifty thousand sesterces. Ostorius Sabinus obtained a grant of twelve thousand, with the ornaments of the quæstorship.

XXXIV. TOWARDS the close of day, the consular quæstor (*a*) was sent to Thrasea, who was then amusing himself in his garden, attended by a number of friends, the most illustrious of both sexes. Demetrius (*b*), a philosopher of the cynic school, was the person who chiefly engaged his attention. Their conversation, as was inferred from looks of earnest meaning, and from some expressions distinctly heard, turned upon the immortality of the soul, and its separation from the body. Thrasea had not heard of the decree that passed the senate, when his intimate friend, Domitius Cæcilianus, arrived with the unhappy tidings. The company melted into tears. Thrasea saw their generous sympathy; he heard their lamentations: but fearing that the interest, which they took in the lot of a man doomed to destruction, might involve them in future danger, he conjured them to retire. Arria (*c*), his wife, inspired by the memorable example of her mother, resolved to share her husband's fate. Thrasea entreated her to continue longer in life, and not deprive their daughter of the only comfort and support of her tender years.

XXXV. HE then walked his portico, and there received the
consular

consular quæstor. An air of satisfaction was visible in his countenance. He had been informed that Helvidius, his son-in-law, had met with nothing harsher than a sentence of banishment out of Italy. The decree of the senate, drawn up in form, being delivered to him, he withdrew to his chamber, attended by Helvidius and Demetrius. He there presented both his arms; and the veins being opened, as soon as the blood began to flow, he desired the quæstor to draw nearer, and sprinkling the floor with his vital drops, "Thus," he said, "let us make libation to JUPITER THE DELIVERER! Behold, young man, a mind undaunted and resigned: and may the gods avert from you so severe a trial of your virtue! But you are fallen on evil times, in which you will find it expedient to fortify your soul by examples of unshaken constancy." The approach of death was slow and lingering. As his pains increased, he raised his eyes, and turning to Demetrius

B O O K
XVI.

A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

* * * * *

THE REST OF THIS BOOK IS LOST.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

S I X T E E N T H B O O K

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

C O N T E N T S.

- I. *THE* death of Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia. The banishment of Paconius and Helvidius. II. Tiridates arrives at Naples, and thence proceeds with Nero to Puteoli. Nero exposes himself as a singer. Tiridates kills a wild beast. III. Tiridates and Nero arrive at Rome. The city illuminated the night before the coronation. The kingdom of Armenia granted to him. IV. The speech of Tiridates. Nero, to gain the applause of the eastern prince, turns coachman, player, and minstrel. He is glad to find a number of the eastern Magi in the train of Tiridates, and endeavours to become master of their art, but finds the whole to be an imposture. V. Corbulo meets Tiridates on his way back to Armenia. VI. Nero shuts the temple of Janus, but proposes to open it again for four different wars; but amidst his projects, deputies arrive from Greece, offering the prize for song and the guitar. Nero gives them a favourable reception. He was on the point of declaring war against the Jews; but he changes his purpose, and makes great preparations against the Æthiopians, and the Albanians. But changing his mind a second time, he sets out for Greece with a prodigious retinue. VII. Account of Nero's conduct in Greece. He plays a variety of characters on the public stage. He gains eighteen hundred laurel crowns for his victories in music. The senate returns thanks to the gods. VIII. He travels round the country, but avoids Athens and Sparta. He gives

gives a loose to vice, indulges in new pleasures, and marries Sporus, the eunuch. IX. The exhausted finances of the prince supplied by draining the people. The arrogance of Helius, an imperial freedman, who directs every thing at Rome. X. Nero attempts to open a passage for the sea through the Isthmus of Corinth. For that purpose, a number of Jew prisoners sent by Vespasian to labour at the work. Vespasian appointed commander against the Jews. XI. Helius, who governs every thing at Rome, in the absence of Nero, insults the senate and the people. He writes an account to Nero of all that passes, and presses him to return to the capitol. Nero forms a design against the life of Corbulo. Arrius Varrus, an officer in Asia, sends an accusation against Corbulo. Corbulo passes into Greece, to have an interview with Nero. Corbulo compelled to dispatch himself. Nero's labours at the Isthmus of Corinth. He embarks for Italy, and arrives at Naples. He enters Rome in triumph. XII. A conspiracy discovered, and the accomplices put to death. A revolt in Gaul. Virginius Rufus defeats the insurrection of Vindex. Galba, in secret, favoured the cause of Vindex, and is much alarmed at his defeat. XIII. Nero resolves to destroy the whole senate. His designs discovered by a favourite slave. The fathers, alarmed for their own safety, prepare to counteract Nero's designs. Nero adjudged to suffer death, as an enemy to his country. XIV. Nero terrified: He is driven to despair, laments his sad condition, and, at last puts an end to his life; the last and worst of the house of Cæsar. XV. Prodigies: the sudden joy, and changeable humours of the populace. Nymphidius favours Galba's party, meaning at the same time to seize the sovereignty. He is slain. XVI. Proceedings against all the instruments of Nero's cruelty.

C O N T E N T S.

cruelty. Galba informed of the death of Nero. He marches at the head of his army towards Italy, and begins his reign with cruelty and great effusion of blood.

These transactions passed in three years.

A. U. C.	of Christ.	Consuls.
819	66	<i>Suetonius Paulinus, Lucius Telesinus.</i>
820	67	<i>Fonteius Capito, Julius Rufus.</i>
821	68	<i>Silius Italicus, Galerius Trachalus.</i>

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

S I X T E E N T H B O O K

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

I. **I**T is not without regret that we lose the last words of a great man at the point of death. All we know is, that Thrasea fixed his eyes on his friend Demetrius, and there Tacitus fails us. What the philosopher said, cannot now be collected from any contemporary historian. It is probable that he expired in a short time after. Seeing the vices of the age, and the savage cruelty of the reigning prince, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a man of virtue, fortified by the doctrines of the stoic school, did not think it awful to die. He was often heard to say, that he had rather lay down his life to-day, than be to-morrow ba-

VOL. II.

Y y

nished

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.
A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

nished to an island. That sentiment was applauded by the philosophers (*a*) of the age. With the same spirit he was used to declare his mind in conversation with his friends. If, he said, Nero intended to destroy no one but me, I could excuse his flatterers; but flattery will not save their lives. Since death is a debt that all must pay, it is better to die in freedom, than live an ignominious slave. All that Nero can do, is to shorten my days: my memory will subsist, and men will continue to talk of me. But for the tribe of abject sycophants, they will perish, and be mentioned no more. Thrasea was not more distinguished by his unshaken fortitude, than by the virtues of humanity. Pliny the consul celebrates him for an apothegm, which shews in the fairest light the amiable tenderness of his nature. An unforgiving disposition was in his eyes not only ungenerous, but immoral; it was, therefore, his maxim (*b*), that he, who suffers himself to hate vice, will hate mankind. It were superfluous to add any further particulars of a man so truly eminent. Tacitus says, that by destroying him, Nero intended, by the same blow, to destroy virtue itself. All praise is summed up in that short encomium.

Soranus, and his daughter Servilia, died with equal virtue, and equal glory. Helvidius Priscus (*c*), as already mentioned, was condemned to exile. Paconius Agrippinus (*d*) met with the same severity. Like his friend Helvidius, he was a man of distinguished virtue, and undaunted resolution. Being informed that his trial, though he was not cited to appear, was actually depending before the senate, May the gods grant me their protection! said he; but it is now the fifth hour, and that is the time when I usually bathe. His cause was not long in suspense. Being informed that judgment was pronounced against him, he calmly asked, What is the sentence? Death or banishment? Being

ing told that it was the latter, And what have they done with my effects? You are left in possession of them. Well then, said he, I can dine at Aricia (*e*). He accepted his life, and, by his calm indifference, gained as much glory as others by the fortitude with which they met their fate. Demetrius, the friend of Thrasea, did not escape the notice of Nero. The tyrant threatened instant execution. You may command it, said Demetrius; you threaten me with death, and nature threatens you (*f*). The intrepid firmness of a poor philosopher, or perhaps the meanness of his condition, saved his life.

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

II. CORNUTUS, another philosopher, who professed the doctrines of the Platonic school, had the misfortune to be consulted on the subject of a poem, which Nero had projected (*a*). He spoke his mind with honest freedom, and for that offence was immediately banished. Nor was the cruelty of the prince appeased by the number that fell a sacrifice; he still thirsted for blood; but happily a scene of splendour, then ready to be displayed, engaged his attention, and gave the people some respite from the rage of an insatiate tyrant. Tiridates, who, with the consent of his brother Vologeses, the Parthian king, had agreed with Corbulo to undertake a journey to Rome (*b*), in order there to receive the regal diadem from the hand of the emperor, was arrived in Italy. Nero was then at Naples, and, in that city, the eastern prince was admitted to his presence. The spectacle was magnificent. It served at once to gratify the pride of a Roman emperor, and for a time to sooth the afflictions of the people. Tiridates was attended by a long procession of officers and a military band appointed by Corbulo. He had, besides, not less than three thousand of the Parthian nobility in his train, with his wife, and the sons (*c*) of Vologeses, of Pacorus, and Monobazus. His

Y y 2

march

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

march through the provinces had no appearance of a prince subdued, and forced to submit to the will of a conqueror. Till he entered the city of Naples all was grandeur and royal magnificence. The act of humiliation still remained. He was to pay homage to the emperor on his knees. Mortifying as that circumstance was to an oriental king, Tiridates submitted to prostrate himself at Nero's feet. Vologeses had stipulated with Corbulo, that his brother should not be compelled to deliver up his sword (*d*); and Tiridates called it an ignominious act, beneath the dignity of the Arsacidæ. Nothing could extort his sword. He is said to have nailed it to the scabbard. The magnanimity, with which he refused to comply, obtained the applause of all, who beheld a scene so new and magnificent.

The court set out for Rome. Nero thought proper to make some stay at Puteoli (*e*), in order to entertain his royal visitor with a show of gladiators. The spectacle was exhibited by Patrobius (*f*), one of the emperor's freedmen, with great expence and prodigious pomp. The genius of Nero could not lie still on such an occasion. In his opinion it was fit that a foreign prince, and his Parthian courtiers, should know how well the emperor of Rome could sing. Tiridates beheld the whole with mixed emotions of wonder, admiration and contempt. The example of Nero did not tempt him to exhibit his person as a show to the people. He scorned to descend into the arena, but did not think it beneath his dignity to call for his bow and arrow, and from the throne, where he was seated, to give a specimen of his dexterity. He aimed at the wild beasts, and the spectators admired his address and the vigour of his arm. Historians relate as a fact (*g*), that two bulls were transfixcd by one arrow, and died on the spot.

III. NERO

III. NERO proceeded, with a grand cavalcade, on his way to Rome, where the most splendid preparations were made for his reception. The whole city was illuminated, and the houses decorated with garlands and laurel wreaths. The people crowded together from all quarters, and rent the air with shouts and acclamations, while the emperor, with Tiridates and the Parthian nobility in his train, made his triumphal entry. A day was fixed for Tiridates to receive the diadem from the hands of Nero. Nothing could equal the pomp and splendour, with which that ceremony was performed (*a*). On the preceding evening, the city was again illuminated, and the streets adorned with flowers. At the dawn of day, an incredible multitude repaired to the forum; the tops of houses were crowded with spectators, and a splendid, but theatrical pomp was exhibited with lavish expence. The people, dressed in white robes, crowned with laurels, and ranked in their several tribes, walked in procession to their respective seats. The prætorian guards, with their standards ranged in order, and their colours flying, displayed their glittering arms. Nero entered the forum in his triumphal habit. The whole body of the senate followed in his train. He took his seat on a curule chair, amidst the standards and the eagles. In a short time after, Tiridates made his appearance. The soldiers opened their lines; he advanced through the ranks, with his eastern nobility in his train. He approached the rostrum, and on his knees offered homage to Nero. The people were not able to contain their joy. They saw the pride of an oriental king humbled at the feet of the emperor. The majesty of Rome filled every imagination. A shout burst forth from the enraptured multitude. Tiridates was astonished at the sound: he stood at gaze, and his heart shrunk within him. Nero raised him from the ground, and, having clasped him in his arms, placed the

6

diadem

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

diadem on his head (*b*), amidst the repeated shouts and acclamations of the people.

IV. THE Parthian prince, not yet recovered from his surprise, in the hurry and agitation of his spirits, addressed himself to Nero, in substance as follows: “ You see before you a prince
“ descended from the line of the Arfacidæ ; you behold the bro-
“ ther of two kings, Vologeses and Pacorus ; and yet I own
“ myself your slave. You, no less than (*a*) *Mithra*, are to me
“ a god. I pay you the same veneration as I do to the Sun.
“ Without your protection, I have no kingdom ; my rights must
“ flow from you. You are the author of my fortune ; and your
“ will is fate.” An ancient prætor undertook to be interpreter on the occasion. The people, well convinced that Nero, by his vices, had forfeited all kind of claim to such respectful language, received it as the homage of a king to the majesty of the Roman name. The speech was sufficiently mean and abject, but the arrogance and ferocity of Nero’s answer (*b*) exceeded every thing.
“ I congratulate you on the wisdom, that brought you thus far
“ to enjoy the sunshine of my presence, and my protection. The
“ diadem, which your father could not leave you, nor your bro-
“ thers confirm in your hand, is the gift which I bestow. The
“ kingdom of Armenia is yours : I place you on the vacant
“ throne. From this day you and your brothers may learn, that
“ it is mine to raise or depose the monarchs of the earth, as my
“ wisdom shall direct.”

Such was the haughty style, in which Nero spoke of himself ; but he did not long support his grandeur. The coronation being over, he adjourned to Pompey’s theatre, where the scene was prepared, at an enormous expence, with the most superb decora-

decorations. The stage, and the whole inside of that noble structure, were cased (*c*) with gold. Such a profusion of wealth and magnificence had never been displayed to view. To screen the spectators from the rays of the sun, a purple canopy, inlaid with golden stars, was spread over their heads. In the centre was seen, richly embroidered, the figure of Nero in the act of driving a curricule. To the exhibitions of the theatre the pleasures of the table succeeded. The banquet (*d*) was the most sumptuous that taste and luxury could contrive. When the appetite of the guests was satisfied, the public diversions were once more resumed. Nero seized the opportunity to display his talents; and he, who a little before was master of the universe, appeared in the characters of charioteer, comedian, singer, and buffoon. He sung on the stage, and drove round the circus in his green livery (*e*). The king of Armenia saw the prince, who talked of dealing out crowns and sceptres, warbling a tune, and managing the reins for the entertainment of his subjects. Such despicable talents, he knew, could neither form a warrior, nor a legislator. His glory, it now was evident, depended on the virtue and the genius of men very different from himself. How he found a people tame enough to obey, and general officers willing to command his armies, was matter of wonder to the Parthian prince. Struck with that idea, he could not refrain from saying to Nero, in the simplicity of his heart (*f*), “ You have in Corbulo a most “ valuable slave.” The drift and good sense of the observation made no impression on a frivolous mind like that of Nero. An emperor, who placed his glory in being a scenic performer, paid no attention to the merit of Corbulo. If he understood the reflection of the eastern prince, he shewed afterwards, that the only use he made of it was, to nourish a secret jealousy, and plan the ruin of an officer, whose fame in arms was too great for a tyrant to endure.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.
A. D.

66.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

A. D.

C.

As soon as the diversions of the theatre and the circus ended, Nero thought fit to open a more important scene. He proceeded with a grand retinue to the capitol, where he entered with a branch of laurel in his hand ; and, as if he had subdued Armenia, the charioteer and player of interludes was saluted IMPERATOR. His vanity was now amply gratified ; but vanity was not the only spring of his actions. To be an adept in magic arts had been for some time his predominant passion ; and, as Tiridates brought with him in his train a number of the Parthian MAGI, he thought the opportunity fair to learn all the secrets of an occult science, which he believed was not the mere illusion of mathematicians and pretended philosophers. Tiridates studied to ingratiate himself, and was proud to have the emperor of Rome for his pupil (*g*). By his desire, the MAGI opened all their stores of knowledge, and Nero, with the anxiety of a guilty mind, was eager to pry into futurity. He was master of the Roman world, and, with the assistance of his oriental teachers, flattered himself that he should soon be able to controul the ways of Providence, and give the law to the gods. With this view he passed his time in close conference with a set of Chaldean impostors ; but Tiridates was not able, in return for the kingdom of Armenia, to teach his benefactor the art of holding commerce with evil spirits. Nero found the whole to be a system of fraud. Instead of being enabled to hold a council with infernal powers, he was left to the suggestions of his own heart, and the advice of a pernicious crew of abandoned men and women, who were the emperor's confidential ministers, and the instruments of every villany.

V. IT is certain that Nero's passion for the guitar, and stage-music, was not greater than his ambition to excel in magic incantations ; but though his hopes were frustrated, he did not cease to entertain Tiridates with the most lavish profusion. An enormous

mous

mous sum (*a*) was issued every day to the Armenian king, for the support of his own grandeur, and the courtiers in his train. At his departure a still larger sum was ordered, as a present from the emperor; and, that he might rebuild the city of Artaxata (*b*), which had been levelled to the ground, a number of artificers were added, at a vast expence, to the retinue of the Parthian prince, who also engaged a number of others to attend him, for stipulated wages, to his own country. The consequence of Nero's generosity was, that the fixing of a king on the throne of Armenia, was a heavier burthen to the Romans than any of their most expensive wars.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.
A. D.

66.

There is reason to think, that the want of success in the attempt to make Nero believe in the religion of the *Magi*, served, in some degree, to open the eyes of Tiridates, and remove the errors of eastern superstition. In order to visit Rome, he had taken a wide compass over an immense tract of country, and travelled all the way by land. The cause of this circuitous and laborious journey must be referred to the superstition of his native country. In the creed of the Parthian Magi, the sea was said to be a sacred element (*c*); and to spit in it, or defile the purity of the waters by the superfluities of the human body, was held to be profane and impious. The design, probably, was, by that doctrine to prevent migration, and what at first was policy received in time the sanction of religion. But Tiridates, during his stay at Rome, so far weeded out the prejudices of education, that he made no scruple to return by sea. He embarked at Brundisium (*d*), and, having crossed the Adriatic, arrived at the port of Dyrrachium (*e*). From that place he pursued his voyage along the coast of Asia, and, being safely landed, visited the Roman provinces, and the most splendid cities on the continent. Before he entered the confines of Armenia, Corbulo advanced to a

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

meeting. In his interview with the Armenian monarch, he still maintained that superior character, which he had fairly earned by his talents and his virtues. Finding an extraordinary number of artificers in the prince's train, he resolved to act with due attention to the interest as well as the dignity of the Roman name; and with that view, having separated such as were hired, he suffered none but those who were a donation from Nero, to migrate to a foreign country. This behaviour gave no offence to Tiridates. He took leave of Corbulo with the highest esteem for his many virtues; and, though he entertained no kind of personal respect for Nero, he thought the regal diadem claimed a return of gratitude; and, upon that principle, as soon as the capital of Armenia was rebuilt, instead of calling it *Artaxata*, he gave it the flattering name of *Neronia*.

VI. ROME having no war upon her hands, Nero, with airs of self-congratulation, as if his valour had subdued the nations, thought fit to shut the temple of JANUS (*a*). But that pacific disposition did not last long. Intoxicated by the homage which he had received from Tiridates, he wanted to renew the same scene of splendour and vain-glory, by the humiliation of Vologeses, the Parthian king. For that purpose, he endeavoured, by pressing invitations, to induce that prince to undertake a journey to Rome. At length the eastern monarch gave a decisive answer: "You can cross the sea, which I hold to be a forbidden element; come to Asia, and we will then settle the ceremony of our meeting." Fired with indignation by that peremptory refusal, and the tone of grandeur with which it was delivered, Nero was upon the point of declaring war, if other projects had not dazzled his imagination. He concerted his measures, and laid plans of vast ambition; but the caprice that dictated them yielded to the first novelty that occurred. He intended to open
the

the temple of Janus for four wars at once (*b*). The first, against the Jews, who felt themselves oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of Gessius Florus, the governor of the province, and were, at that time, in open revolt. The second enterprize was intended against the Æthiopians; the third, against the Albanians on the borders of the Caspian sea; the fourth, to revenge the insult offered to him by the haughty spirit of Vologeses. The love of fame, whatever he did, was the inspiring motive: whether he sent forth his armies, or drove a chariot, or sung a song, praise was still the ultimate end. If by his victorious arms the Æthiopians and Albanians could be reduced to subjection, the glory of enlarging the boundaries of the empire was to be the bright reward. His exertions were, therefore, made against the two last-mentioned states. He sent detachments forward to survey the country; he formed flying camps in those distant regions; he began to collect the forces of the empire; and, not content with drawing from Britain, from Germany, and Illyricum, the flower of his armies, he formed a new legion, composed of men six feet high, and this he called the phalanx (*c*) of Alexander the Great.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

819.

A. D.

66.

Amidst this din of arms, and all this mighty tumult of warlike preparations, an incident occurred of more moment to Nero than the glory of the Roman name. A deputation arrived at Rome from the cities of Greece, where the theatre, and poetry, and music flourished, with orders to present to the emperor, from the several places, the victor's crown (*d*) for minstrelsy and song. An opportunity so bright and unexpected was not to be neglected. Nero was transported with joy: he towered above himself and all competition. The deputies were admitted to his presence; they were caressed, invited to his table, and all other business, however important, gave way to the elegant arts. The

APPENDIX
 TO
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 819.
 A. D.
 66.

Greeks were skilled in the trade of adulation. They beseeched the prince to honour them with a specimen of his talents. Nero sung to his guests; they heard, they applauded, they were thrown into ecstasies. He in his turn admired their taste; they were the only people who had music in their souls; they, and they only, had an ear for finer sound; the true masters of harmony; the judges who deserved to hear his exquisite powers. From that moment all his warlike projects vanished from his mind. He thought no more of humbling the Parthian king; the Æthiopians and Albanians might enjoy their independent state, and Vespasian might take the field against the Jews. The fame of a coachman, a minstrel, and a singer, was of greater moment. He resolved, without delay, to set out for Greece. How the administration was to be conducted during his absence, was the first consideration. That did not embarrass him long. The whole authority and all the functions of the prince were committed to Helius, one of his freedmen. That upstart minister, with Polycletus, his associate, had already enriched himself with the plunder of the public, and was now, with the whole power in his hands, to give a full display of his character. That point being settled, a weightier care still remained. An imperial charioteer, and a comedian of illustrious rank, who was to be nobly covered with Olympic dust, and to bring back laurel crowns for his victories in song and pantomime, could not undertake such an expedition without the greatest pomp. Preparations were accordingly made. The emperor seemed to be going to an important war (*e*). Tigellinus put himself at the head of the companions of the Augustan order, in number not less than five thousand. To these were added an incredible multitude of abandoned harlots, and the most debauched young men of the time. The whole train went forth, not in warlike array, with swords, and pikes, and javelins, but with softer instruments;

ments; with the sock and buskin; with music, lutes and guitars. The retinue was suited to the dignity of the enterprise. An idea of the splendour and magnificence displayed on this occasion may be easily formed, when we are told that Nero never travelled with less than a thousand baggage-waggons (*f*); the mules all shod with silver, and the drivers dressed in scarlet; his African slaves adorned with bracelets on their arms, and the horses decorated with the richest trappings.

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.
A. U. C.
819.
A. D.
66.

VII. THE consuls for this year were Fonteius Capito and Julius Rufus; but their authority was superseded by Helius, the freedman, who exercised all the powers of the imperial prerogative. This man broke loose at once, and was soon felt as a public calamity. Pride and insolence, avarice and cruelty, the never-failing vices of those detestable miscreants, who from the dregs of the people rise above their fellow citizens, marked the conduct of this favourite freedman, and debased the people, who submitted to so vile a master. All degrees and ranks of men, the senate, and the Roman knights, groaned under the iron rod of an ignoble tyrant, who confiscated their estates, sent them into banishment, or took away their lives at his will and pleasure. The people, who shuddered at the presence of the emperor, were obliged, in misery of heart, to lament his absence.

A. U. C.
820.
A. D.
67.

Nero, in the mean time, arrived at Cassiopœa (*b*) in the isle of Corcyra, and there, in the temple of Jupiter Cassius (*c*), he tuned his harp, and sung in the presence of the people. From that place he set sail for Greece. Being safely landed, his first care was, like a great officer, before he marched further into the country, to settle the plan of his operations, in order not only to gain, but to secure his victory. With this view, he issued his

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

521.
A. D.

public orders, requiring that all the games (*d*), which were celebrated throughout Greece at stated periods, and in different years, should be performed at their respective places, during his stay in the country; and not only so, but that each city should wait for his arrival. Nor was this all: the fame of such as had proved victorious, and were then no more, was to be obliterated from the memory of man, that all preceding merit might be eclipsed by the lustre of a new performer. The statues of the deceased were all demolished (*e*). The living artists were treated with less rigour. They were required to enter the lists with their imperial rival, and, upon that condition, their statues were exempted from the general destruction. Nero's love of fame was not a generous emulation; it was an impatience of a rival, that turned to envy, rancour, and malice. To be pronounced the first musician, and the best tragedian, was not enough for his vast ambition; he was likewise to be the most skilful driver of a curricule. With that bright object in view, he had for some years before meditated an expedition into Greece; and finding that the Olympic games were, in their regular course, to be celebrated in the summer, in the year of Rome eight hundred and sixteen, he even then had the precaution, by a positive command, to defer the exhibition of that great national spectacle till his arrival in Greece. The law, or, which was equivalent, his will and pleasure, being announced, the people prepared for his reception. He began his tour through the country; he visited the several cities, and gave himself a spectacle on the public stage. Greece had been reduced to subjection by Flaminius, Mummius, Agrippa, and Augustus Cæsar: and now in her turn she triumphed over the conqueror. She saw the emperor of Rome running from place to place in the character of a strolling player, a travelling musician, and a famous coachman. He did not, however, depend altogether on his merit, but practised the underhand arts,

by

by which success is often ensured. He hired a numerous party to applaud, and distributed bribes among the judges who were to decide. Wherever he performed, a legion of Roman knights was stationed in the theatre, by their own example to excite and animate the admiration of the multitude, and teach the Greeks what was excellent in the arts, which they themselves had invented, and carried to perfection. By these and such like preconcerted measures, Nero secured his triumph in all quarters. Competition was invited, and at the same time intimidated. In one of the cities, a man well skilled in music, but a bad politician, experienced the danger of contending with a powerful rival. Zealous for the honour of his art, and proud of his own talent, he persisted to dispute the prize, till the lictors drove him to the wall, and there dispatched him in the sight of the audience. Vespasian had found it necessary to pass from Syria into Greece, in order to appear among the band of courtiers, and pay his homage to the emperor. But, unfortunately, he either had no ear for music, or he did not reckon it among the accomplishments of a prince. He heard that divine voice in a fullen mood, or, as happened to him at Rome upon a former occasion, he fell asleep (*f*). For this offence, he was ordered to appear no more in the presence of the emperor. He retired to a small village, and there, in an obscure lurking-place, hoped to find a shelter from resentment. He remained for some time in that state of anxious suspense, when the fates called him forth to scenes of future glory. The Jews were in the field with a powerful army; they had defeated Cestius Gallus with great slaughter, and taken an eagle from one of the legions. The crisis was big with danger, and called for vigorous measures. But Nero did not think that Judæa was the field of glory. He gave the command to Vespasian, apprehending no danger from a man of obscure descent, and austere manners, whom he was no longer willing to retain near

his

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

820.

A. D.

67.

APPENDIX
 TO
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 1022.
 A. D.
 67.

his person. Vespasian departed to take upon him the command in Syria, and Nero continued his progress through Greece. He was received every where with public demonstrations of respect; but the people could scarce refrain from laughter, when they heard the sound of a voice neither loud nor clear, and saw the singer rising on his toes, in a vain endeavour to expand the notes, and straining his organs, till a face, naturally red, was so inflamed as to vie with the deepest scarlet. Not content with the fame of an enchanting singer, he resolved to prove himself a great tragedian. The parts, in which he chose to distinguish himself (*g*), were HERCULES FURENS; ŒDIPUS, who murdered his father, and tore out his own eyes; ORESTES, poignarding his mother; and sometimes a RAVISHED SABINE, or a MATRON IN LABOUR, on the point of being delivered. When he arrived at Olympia, he found, that the celebrated games of that place consisted altogether of chariot-races, and athletic exercises, and by consequence that no theatre had been erected. Was his darling music to be excluded? Rather than suffer such an indignity, he ordered preparations to be made for interludes, and other dramatic performances. Not content with being blinded on the stage; with raving like a madman, and being brought to bed like a woman; he was still to figure on the race-ground, and astonish the multitude with his dexterity in whirling round the course. Determined to perform wonders, and surpass all ancient fame, he mounted a car drawn by six horses, but had the misfortune, in the heat of his career, to be thrown from his seat. He mounted again; but either hurt by his fall, or not able to bear the velocity of the motion, he was obliged to descend before he reached the goal. He was, notwithstanding, declared conqueror. He contended afterwards for the prizes at the Pythian, the Nemean, and all the other games of Greece, with equal success at every place. He was proclaimed victor in all trials of skill, and gained no less than

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

820.

A. D.

67.

than eighteen hundred different crowns. The honour so obtained was always understood to reflect a lustre on the conqueror's native country. With a view to that custom, the form of the proclamation (*b*) in favour of Nero was as follows: NERO CÆSAR IS VICTOR IN THE COMBAT (naming it), AND HAS WON THE CROWN FOR THE ROMAN PEOPLE, AND THE UNIVERSE, OF WHICH HE IS MASTER." Care was taken to transmit to Rome a regular account of all his victories. Such a career of rapid success made the people stand at gaze. The senate passed a vote of thanks to the gods for such signal events, and, by their decrees, so loaded the calendar, that the year could scarce find room for so many rejoicing days.

VIII. NERO now conceived that he had triumphed over the arts, and, in the pride of his heart, resolved to make a progress through the conquered country. He took care, however, not to visit Athens or Lacedæmon. In the former, he dreaded to approach the temple of the Eumenidæ. A mind lashed and goaded by the whips and stings of a guilty conscience wished to avoid those avenging deities (*a*). He was deterred from Lacedæmon by the form of government, and the sanctity of the laws established by Lycurgus. The place where the Eleusinian mysteries (*b*) were celebrated, was also forbidden ground. Murderers and parricides were excluded from those religious ceremonies. Nero was seized with a fit of remorse. Busy reflection brought to light the iniquities of his conduct; in the agitation of his spirits, he reviewed those deeds of horror, which forbore to goad him, while his mind was becalmed by vanity and pleasure. Conscience may grant a truce to the guilty, but never makes a lasting peace. Distracted by his fears, and sunk in the gloom of superstition (*c*), he resolved to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Pythian priestess warned him to beware of seventy-three years (*d*).

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI
A. U. C.
827.
A. D.
67.

He received the admonition as a certain promise of long life, not then thinking of Galba, who had reached his seventy-third year, and in a short time after succeeded to the imperial dignity. The oracle pleased him at first by agreeable bodings, but did not continue long in his good graces. The parricide, he was told, which he had committed, placed him in the same rank with Alcmeon and Orestes, who had murdered their mothers. Nero kindled with indignation. He resolved that the god should feel his resentment, and, in his fury, disfranchised the territory of Cirrha (*e*), which had been appropriated to the temple, and was held to be consecrated ground. Nor did his phrensy end here. The oracle was to be silenced, or so profaned as to lose its credit. With this intent, he ordered a number of men to be massacred on the spot; and having poured libations of their blood into the opening of the ground, from which the exhalations issued, that were supposed to inspire the priests with enthusiastic fury, he closed the orifice, and with pride and insolence left a place which had been revered for ages. After this exploit, he returned to his former luxury, and in the gratifications of vice hoped to find some respite from his anxious thoughts. But even vice required variety. Repetition might pall the fated appetite, and, if he did not shew an inventive genius, the flattery of the Greeks was in danger of being exhausted. He had made himself at Rome the wife of Pythagoras (*f*); but that was become an obsolete story, and no longer excited wonder. He was determined, therefore, to resume his sex, and marry Sporus, the eunuch. The ceremony was performed (*g*) with great pomp and splendour. Calvia Crispinilla (*b*) was appointed mistress of the wardrobe to the emperor's wife. She adorned the bride with all the decorations of female elegance; and Tigellinus, amidst the applause of the astonished Greeks, who, with arch sneers of ridicule, had still the address to pay their adulation, gave away Sporus in marriage to the

the emperor of Rome. It was said upon the occasion, that it would have been well for mankind, if Nero's father had been married to such a wife.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

820.

A. D.

67.

IX. NERO could not, in this unbounded manner, riot in vice and folly without vast expence, and a prodigious waste of the public treasure. To supply his prodigality, Helius the freedman, who conducted the administration at Rome, laboured hard, by every iniquitous measure, by extortion, and cruelty, to raise enormous sums of money. A tame and complying senate was easily induced by the arts of the prime minister to vote an immense annual sum to be remitted to the emperor, during his absence from the capital. The rapacity of Helius was not to be appeased. The companions of the Augustan society (*a*) had bound themselves by a vow to erect a statue to Nero, not less than a thousand pound weight. By that voluntary obligation they were said to have incurred a debt, and were compelled to advance an equivalent sum of money. No rank or station was safe from plunder and oppression. Roman knights and senators fell a sacrifice, and their estates were confiscated. Sulpicius Camerinus (*b*), a man descended from an illustrious family, was put to death for an extraordinary reason. The surname of Pythicus had been for ages annexed to his ancestors, and was, consequently, an hereditary honour. By the fertile invention of Helius this was construed into a crime. The name might imply a victor in the Pythian games; and when Nero, with the consenting voice of Greece, was declared universal conqueror, to usurp that title was a crime of violated majesty, and an impious sacrilege. Sulpicius and his son were put to death, and their effects were forfeited to the state. Wealth, in whatever rank, was sure to provoke the hand of rapacity, and Rome, under the government of a presuming and arrogant freedman, was a scene of

APPENDIX

BOOK XVI.

A. D. C.

A. D.

plunder, blood, and cruelty. And yet all that could be amassed by those iniquitous means, was not sufficient for the prodigality of Nero. The Greeks had flattered his vanity, and, in return, were doomed to feel the hand of oppression. The cities, which had revered him as a god, had reason in the end to execrate him as a tyrant. They saw their best and most distinguished citizens put to death, or sent into banishment, that the emperor might enjoy the spoils of their plundered property (c).

X. THE fame of a divine voice, and an exquisite hand on the guitar, was not sufficient for the ambition of Nero. He wished to distinguish himself by some unheard of enterprise. The grand, the vast, and almost impossible fired his imagination. He arrived at Corinth, and was there surprised to see by what a narrow isthmus the two seas were separated. Like the hero of Statius the poet, he heard the murmur of the billows, on the Ionian and the Ægean shores; *in mediis audit duo litora campis*. The project of piercing through the land, and forming a navigable canal to communicate the two seas, and render it unnecessary for mariners to sail round the Peloponnesus, struck his fancy, and fired him with ideas of immortal fame (a). The Greeks opposed the design, and endeavoured to dissuade him from undertaking it. The language of superstition was, that to attempt to join what had been severed for ages, would be an impious violation of the laws of nature. Nero was not to be deterred from his purpose; religious principles were urged in vain; to conquer nature were an imperial work, and what the gods ordained, might be new-modelled by his superior judgment. He knew, besides, that the attempt had been made by Demetrius Poliorcetes, an eastern king, by Julius Cæsar and Caligula (b); and to accomplish an arduous work, which those three princes had undertaken without effect, appeared to him the height of human glory. He resolved, therefore,

therefore, to begin the work without delay. Having harangued the prætorian soldiers, and urged every topic that could inflame their ardour, he provided himself with a golden pick-axe (for such hands were not to be sullied by baser metal), and, advancing on the shore, sung in melodious strains a hymn to Neptune, Amphitrite, and all the inferior gods and goddesses, who allay or heave the waters of the deep. After this ceremony, he struck the first stroke into the ground, and, with a basket of sand on his shoulder, marched away in triumph, proud of his Herculean labour. The natives of the country saw the frantic enterprise with mixed emotions of fear, astonishment; and religious horror. They observed to Nero, that of the three princes, who had conceived the same design, not one died a natural death. They told him further, that, in some places, as soon as the axe pierced the ground, a stream of blood gushed from the wound; hollow groans were heard from subterraneous caverns, and various spectres, emitting a feeble murmur, were seen to glide along the coast. These remonstrances made no impression. Nero ordered his soldiers to exert their utmost vigour; money was levied in every quarter; cruelty and extortion went hand in hand. In order to procure a sufficient number of workmen, the jails in all parts of the empire were ransacked, and the armies in Syria and Palestine had it in command to send to Corinth all the prisoners taken in battle.

The conduct of the war against the Jewish nation had been, as mentioned above, committed to Vespasian, who had already carried his victorious arms through the province of Galilee. The enemy, as soon as they had intelligence that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army, endeavoured to surprise a Roman garrison in the city of Ascalon (*c*), but were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. Not less than eighteen thousand were put

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

820.

A. D.

67.

APPENDIX
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 112.
 A. D.
 67.

to the sword by the legions, who had orders to give no quarter. Vespasian found it necessary, against a fierce and obstinate race, at that time for their manifold crimes devoted to destruction, to forget the maxims of Roman clemency. It is certain that those merciful conquerors never spilled so much hostile blood in any of their wars from the first foundation of Rome. The city of Gaddara (*d*) was taken by storm, and reduced to ashes. The garrison and the whole body of the inhabitants perished in the flames. In the mean time, Trajan, whose son was afterwards emperor of Rome, was sent, at the head of the tenth legion, to spread terror and destruction through the country. He laid siege to the city of Japha (*e*), and, meeting with an obstinate resistance, carried the works by assault. All, who were capable of bearing arms, in number not less than fifteen thousand, were put to the sword. The Samaritans, who had collected their forces on Mount Garizim (*f*), were treated with the same severity. Cerealis, who afterwards commanded against Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, and also in Britain, had orders to march with three thousand foot and six hundred horse to attack the fastnesses on the hills, and dislodge the enemy. He formed lines of circumvallation round the hill, and by a close blockade cut off all communication with the adjacent country. The Samaritans were reduced by famine to the last distress; yet even in that condition held out to the last with determined obstinacy. Cerealis ordered his men to advance up the hill. The soldiers forced their way up the steep ascent, and with resistless valour soon gained the summit. A dreadful carnage followed. Twelve thousand of the Samaritans perished on the spot. The city of Gamala (*h*) was taken by assault, and the garrison, with all the inhabitants, put to the sword.

Vespasian, during these operations, carried on the siege of Jotapata,

Jotapata (*i*), the strongest place in Galilee. Josephus (*k*), the historian, had been appointed governor of the province, and he now commanded the garrison, determined to make a vigorous defence, and hold out to the last extremity. The particulars of the siege are related by himself, and therefore need not to be here repeated. It will be sufficient to say, that he discharged all the duties of an able officer, by his own example, no less than by his spirited exhortations, animating the soldiers, and in every part of the works exciting them to deeds of valour. The siege lasted seven-and-forty days. In one of the approaches to the walls, Vespasian was wounded by a lance aimed at him from the works; but he bore the pain with such silent fortitude, that no ill consequence followed. On the forty-seventh day of the siege, the inhabitants still refusing to capitulate, the signal was given for a general assault. Titus, at the head of a chosen band, scaled the walls, and was the first that entered the town. In that dreadful crisis it does not appear that Josephus either faced the danger, or discharged the functions of a general officer. Except the women and children, and about twelve hundred prisoners, all who were found in the town died in one general carnage. Josephus was afterwards found concealed in a cave. Vespasian spared his life, and the historian survived to write an account of the siege, intermixed, indeed, with some romantic circumstances, but containing various matter for the information of posterity. The city of Tarichæa (*l*), which had been the receptacle of a turbulent and seditious rabble from all sides of the country, was compelled, after an obstinate resistance, to open her gates to Titus. Vespasian ordered twelve hundred of the most fierce incendiaries to be put to death, as a public example, and, in compliance with Nero's letters, sent six thousand prisoners (*m*) to work at the isthmus of Corinth.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

820.
A. D.

67.

APPENDIX

TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

827.

A. D.

67.

XI. WHILE Vespasian pursued his conquests, and, in one campaign, overran the province of Galilee, Rome was a scene of tumult and distraction. Helius reigned like a second emperor: the people called him the worst of the two. Each day produced new proofs of avarice, cruelty, and all the vices of an upstart slave. The senators began to wake from their lethargy; the clamours of the populace were loud and fierce; rage and indignation glowed in every breast; and the flame was ready to mount into a blaze. The freedman saw his danger. He dispatched letters to inform the emperor that the urgency of affairs required his presence at Rome (*a*). But Nero's vast designs were of too much importance. His answer to the favourite was, "You advise me to return to Rome, but whatever your reasons are, you ought rather to recommend a longer absence; that I may finish my grand undertaking, and then revisit the capital, crowned with immortal glory." He saw the number of labourers sent by Vespasian, and, in consideration of that timely succour, forgave the merit of that victorious general. Corbulo (*b*) had not the good fortune to be remembered with equal moderation. Tiridates had mentioned him with the praise due to his virtue, and his fame in arms. That commendation was sufficient to provoke the ingratitude of a tyrant, who beheld distinguished talents with a jealous eye, and suffered no man to be great and virtuous with impunity. Being at length determined to execute the bloody purpose, which he had for some time harboured in secret, he wrote to Corbulo in terms of great esteem and kindness, calling him his friend and benefactor, and expressing his ardent wish to have an interview with a general who had rendered such signal services to the empire. Having sent that insidious invitation, he held a private correspondence with Arrius Varus, who served in Asia; a young man of a daring spirit, in haste to rise by his crimes. To fabricate a

charge

charge against his commanding officer he knew would be the way to ingratiate himself with Nero. He sent a formal accusation, loaded with every crime that calumny could suggest. Corbulo fell into the snare. A mind like his, impregnated with honour and heroic fortitude, could admit no suspicion of intended treachery. He embarked without any retinue, and landed at Cenchreæ, a Corinthian harbour in the Ægean Sea. Nero was there at the time, dressed in his pantomime garb, and ready to mount the stage, when the arrival of his general officer was announced. He felt the indecency of giving an audience in his comedian's dress to a man, whom he respected, while he hated him. To free himself from all embarrassment, he took the shortest way, and sent a death-warrant. Corbulo saw too late that honesty is too often the dupe of the ignoble mind. He scorned to expostulate. "I have deserved this," he said, and fell upon his sword (*e*).

APPENDIX
 TO
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 820.
 A. D.
 67.

The blood of one great man could not appease the cruelty of Nero. Whoever was eminent for talents, riches, or nobility of birth, was considered as a state-criminal. In that number were the two Scribonii, Rufus and Proculus, who had lived in perfect harmony, with mutual esteem, and true brotherly affection. Their fortunes were a joint stock. They assisted each other in the road to honours, and both together rose to stations of high authority; one on the Upper, and the other on the Lower Rhine. While they discharged their respective duties with integrity, and unwearied zeal for the public service, Pactius Africanus (*f*) was their secret enemy. This man had the ear of Nero, and knew how to transfuse his own malignity into the heart of a prince too fatally prone to evil deeds. The virtues of the Scribonii were, by his artful misrepresentation, converted into crimes; the happy concord, in which they lived, was a conspiracy against the state;

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

820.

A. D.

67.

and their fame and credit in the German armies were the means of two ambitious politicians, not the end of their actions. By conciliating the good-will of the foldiers, they hoped to overturn the government. Nero took the alarm, and, under a specious pretence of doing honour to the two brothers, invited them to his court. They obeyed his orders. As soon as they arrived in Greece, a new scene was opened. An audience was refused; they were forbid to appear in the emperor's presence; suborned accusations were presented in form; and the unhappy brothers found themselves in the sad condition of state-criminals. They desired to be heard in their defence. That act of justice was denied. They knew, that, under a despotic prince, the interval between the opening of an accusation and the catastrophe is always short. They resolved not to wait the tyrant's pleasure, but to deliver themselves with Roman fortitude from an ignominious death. They opened their veins, and expired together.

The fate of Craffus (*g*), who derived an illustrious lineage from Pompey the Great, and Craffus the Triumvir, may be mentioned in this place. Historians have not fixed the time of his death with precision; but it is certain that he fell a victim to the cruelty of Nero. Craffus, his father, with Scribonia, his mother, and a brother, who was named Cneius Pompeius Magnus, had been cut off by the emperor Claudius (*b*). But the family, in the opinion of Aquileius Regulus, had not shed blood enough. That pernicious informer knew that to be accused, was to be condemned. He invented a charge of an atrocious nature, and Craffus shared the fate of his murdered family. He left two brothers; the eldest, Craffus Scribonianus; the youngest, the unfortunate Piso, at that time a banished man, but afterwards adopted by Galba (*k*), too soon to fall from that dangerous eminence.

During

APPENDIX
 TO
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 820.
 A. D.
 67.

During these bloody tragedies, the great business of piercing the isthmus was not neglected. The work began at a place called Lechæum (*l*), a sea-port on the Ionian Sea. It went on with strenuous exertion for a number of days. A trench was dug four stadia in length, which was computed to be a tenth part of the isthmus. But the flame of discord was lighted up at Rome. A storm was gathering in Gaul, and commotions shook every part of the empire. In that alarming conjuncture, Helius thought fit to leave his associate Polycletus, as his viceroy at Rome, and he himself passed over into Greece. He met Nero at Corinth, and, by giving him, in striking colours, a dreadful picture of the state of affairs, enforced the necessity of returning to the capital. The grand enterprise was abandoned, and the Ionian and Ægean Seas were left to flow in the direction which nature had appointed. But still there was an object that attracted Nero's fond regard. The time of celebrating the Isthmian games was near at hand. His favourite passion hurried him to the place. The pugilist and the charioteer banished from his mind all fear of plots and insurrections. He thought of the crowns of victory, which he had obtained in every quarter. His heart expanded with joy, with self-congratulation, and gratitude towards a people, who had declared him matchless and unrivalled in all the games and exercises throughout the country. It behoved so great a conqueror to leave a lasting monument of munificence, and imperial grandeur. Elate with pride, and touched with generous sentiments, he resolved to give Greece her liberty. With that design he repaired to the forum. Nor did he suffer his gracious intention to be uttered by the public crier. Such a gift required the accents of his own heavenly voice. He ascended the tribunal of harangues, and, having declared Greece a free country (*m*), set sail for Italy.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

221.
A. D.

66.

XII. THE consuls next in office were Galerius Trachalus and Silius Italicus. They were both men of genius; both addicted to study, and distinguished by their extensive literature. Trachalus (*a*) was an orator in great celebrity, always copious, and often sublime. Silius Italicus (*b*) had also distinguished himself at the bar, but not with unblemished reputation. He knew that, under Nero, to be the accuser of innocence was the road to preferment; but he returned to the paths of virtue, and by his poetry, which he published afterwards, transmitted his name to posterity. During his consulship, Nero returned from Greece, to close the scene of vice and folly. After a tempestuous voyage, he arrived at Naples, where the first displays of his genius had been seen in their dawn (*c*). His fame was now in its meridian lustre. The conqueror in the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Isthmian games was to enter the city in triumph; and for this purpose the usual avenues were not sufficient. The occasion required something new and extraordinary. The custom in Greece was to throw down part of the city-wall (*d*), that the conqueror in the sacred games might enter through the breach. Nero ordered an opening to be made for himself, and entered the city in a triumphal car, drawn by six milk-white horses. The splendour of the day exceeded the triumph of Flaminius (*e*) or Mummius. They had obtained victories, and subdued a nation: but what Roman triumphed over the arts of Greece? Who, before Nero, was declared the best charioteer, and the finest player on the guitar? From Naples he went to Antium (*f*), his native city, and there displayed the same pomp and ceremony. But Rome was the place where his pride was to appear in all its grandeur. A long procession led the way. His crowns of victory in the various games glittered to the eye, and inscriptions, in glaring letters, blazoned forth the fame of Nero, the first Roman who gained the prize of theatrical talents.

Festive

Festive songs, and thanksgiving hymns, were sung, not to Jupiter (*b*), the guardian god of Rome, but to Apollo, the deity of fingers and harpers. The triumphal car, in which Augustus had been seen, was brought forth on the occasion. That emperor, after all his victories, entered the city in triumph: Nero sat in the same carriage, a coachman, and a player. Augustus was attended by Agrippa; Nero had by his side Diodorus, the musician. The streets resounded with acclamations: Io! Victory! Victory in the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Isthmian games! Io! the conqueror of Greece! Happy the people who heard that melodious voice! Victims were slain, incense rose to heaven, and flowers (*i*) covered all the way.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.
821.
A. D.
68.

Nero returned to his palace. Pomp and splendour were at an end; the scenes of vanity passed away, and he was left at leisure to think, and to be wretched. Helius had told him that the conjuncture was big with danger. Plots, insurrections, and conspiracies filled his mind with dreadful apprehensions. A conspiracy (*k*), beyond all question, was actually formed, and ready to break out, had it not been discovered by a trifling accident. It happened that one of the conspirators (*l*), towards the close of day, passed by the theatre. He saw, in one of the porticos, a man loaded with fetters, and in bitterness of heart bewailing his unhappy lot. Upon enquiry it was found, that he was to be led into the presence of Nero, which he considered as sure destruction. The conspirator was touched with compassion. He drew nearer to the prisoner, and, to assuage his fears, whispered in his ear, "Have a good heart; live till to-morrow, and you will have reason to thank me as your deliverer." These were words of comfort to a wretch, who expected instant death. His hopes revived; such welcome tidings filled him with delight and wonder; but wonder was the strongest emotion. The novelty of an incident

APPENDIX
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 821.
 A. D.
 63.

incident so unexpected fixed his attention. By what means was he to be delivered from impending ruin? Nothing but a dark conspiracy could bring about such an event. He resolved to reveal all he knew. The merit of a discovery, made in time, would not only secure his life, but lead on to fortune. He desired to be conducted to the prince. The conspirator was immediately seized, and put to the torture. His courage was for some time undaunted, unsubdued. He denied the whole of the charge. But protracted misery was too much to bear. His resolution failed. The names of his accomplices were extorted by the violence of pain, and all were condemned to suffer. A scene of blood was laid, and Nero's superstition ascribed the discovery of the plot to the miraculous interposition of the gods.

Having conquered his enemies, and secured the future tranquillity of his reign, he thought it time to give a loose to his libidinous passions, and pursue his theatrical amusements. For this purpose he removed to Naples, the place of perfect security, and the seat of pleasure. His halcyon days were soon interrupted. A storm had been for some time gathering in Gaul, and threatened at length to shake the empire to its foundation. There was in that part of the empire, a native of the country, descended from the kings of Aquitain, by name (*m*) Julius Vindex. His father had been raised by Claudius to the dignity of a senator, and the son was made governor of a province with the rank and powers of a Roman proprætor. This man, without an army under his command, and without any resources, except what he found in his own personal courage, and the generous ardour of an independent spirit, undertook to free the world from bondage. He knew that an enterprise so bold and daring required the co-operation of the provinces of Gaul and the Roman legions. With that view, he sent dispatches to Galba (*n*), at that time governor

governor of the nethermost Spain, and made him a tender of the imperial dignity. Galba deduced his pedigree from the ancient family of the Sulpicii: his mother, by her paternal line, was descended from Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth, and, by her mother's side, from Quintus Catulus, the pride and ornament of the old republic. He was consul under Tiberius, in the year of Rome seven hundred and eighty. He commanded in Germany in the reign of Caligula, and, afterwards, under Claudius was proconsul of Africa. His illustrious birth, his military fame, and high credit with the legions in every army, pointed him out as the proper person to depose a prince, whose cruelty made him detestable, and whose folly rendered even tyranny itself ridiculous. Galba received the dispatches sent by Vindex with the frigid caution of a man far advanced in life. He was more than seventy years old, and that age is not the season of ambition. To slide in quiet through the remainder of his days, seemed to be all that he desired from fortune; but, under that outward calm, the sparks of a dying passion were rekindled. And yet the enterprise proposed to him was big with danger, and the issue doubtful. Prudence conspired with indolence, and he remained silent and inactive. The governors of all the other provinces had been, in like manner, solicited to enter into the Gallic league: they hated Nero; but, instead of declaring open hostility, they thought it more advisable to provide for their own safety, by sending to Rome the letters which they had received from Vindex. Galba suppressed his in silence. Nero received the news with joy and exultation. His finances, he said, were well nigh exhausted, and the forfeited estates of the insurgents would be ways and means, by which he intended to fill his treasury. He considered Galba's silence as a proof of guilt. Without further enquiry, he confiscated all his property at Rome, and dispatched assassins, with orders to put him to death.

Vindex,

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.
821.
A. D.
68.

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

Vindex, in the mean time, exerted himself with unremitting vigour to rouse the people of Gaul. He went to the various cities, and lighted up the flame of war in every quarter. He called a public convention of the states, and harangued the assembly, in substance as follows (*o*): “ We live, he said, not under laws, and civil government, but under the will of a single tyrant. Vice and cruelty lord it over mankind. The provinces groan under the yoke of oppression; our houses are pillaged; our wives and daughters are violated, and our relations basely murdered. Of all our misery Nero is the author. What crime so great that he has not dared to perpetrate? His mother died by his murderous hand. That horrible parricide makes the heart recoil; but Agrippina deserved her fate. She brought a monster into the world. At length the measure of his guilt is full. The east is up in arms; Britain in commotion; and the legions in Spain and Germany are on the eve of a revolt: and shall the nations of Gaul stand lingering in suspense? What consideration is there to restrain your ardour? Shall the titles of Cæsar, of Augustus, of Prince, and Emperor throw a false lustre round a man, who has disgraced his rank, and made majesty ridiculous? These eyes, my friends, these eyes have seen him a fidler, a mountebank, and a pantomime actor. Instead of his imperial titles, call him Thyestes, Œdipus, Alcæon, and Orestes. Those names are suited to his crimes. How long are we to submit to such a master? Our forefathers took the city of Rome by storm: and what was their motive? In those days the love of plunder was sufficient to provoke a war. We have a nobler cause; the cause of public liberty. It is that, my friends, it is that glorious cause that now invites us. Let us obey the call, and draw the avenging sword. The nations round us, fired with indignation, are ready to assert their rights. Let them not be the first

“to prove themselves men. The enterprize has in it all that is dear to man, all that is great in human nature; and shall we not be the first to seize the glorious opportunity? Let us go forth at once, and be the deliverers of the world.”

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

This speech was received with shouts of applause. The deputies, inflamed with ardour in the cause of liberty, returned to their respective cities; a warlike spirit was kindled in the mass of the people; a league was formed, and the din of arms was heard in every part of the country. Galba was informed of all that passed. He also knew that he was proscribed by Nero, and that his effects were sold by public auction. The tide of affairs rushed on with a swell that overpowered a mind by nature indolent, and enfeebled by age. In the number of Galba's friends Titus Vinius was the only person that endeavoured to rouse his drooping spirit. To hesitate in such a juncture appeared to him a privation of mind nothing short of madness. The only question, he said, was, which was most eligible, to act in conjunction with Vindex, or to wage war against him? against a man who wished to depose a tyrant, and call to the succession a prince who possessed the virtues of humanity? Galba saw the necessity of taking a decided part, but his natural irresolution was not easily conquered. He wished to sound the inclinations of the people, and, for that purpose, summoned a grand council to meet at New Carthage (*p*), in order, as he pretended, to settle the manumission of slaves. His friends knew that greater matters were in agitation, and, accordingly, spread a general alarm. On the day appointed, an incredible multitude assembled from all parts of the country. Galba ascended the tribunal, prepared by a well-imagined artifice to speak at once to the eye and the ear. The images of the most illustrious of both sexes (*q*), who had fallen a sacrifice to Nero's cruelty, were ranged in regular order

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

round the council-chamber. The silent eloquence of that pathetic scene he knew would assist the orator, and inflame the passions of his audience. He began his harangue without the usual approaches of a studied introduction. The business was of the first importance, and he rushed into it at once, with warmth and vehemence. He painted forth the horrors of Nero's reign, the acts of oppression that laid waste the provinces, and the murders that thinned the noblest families. If proofs were necessary, he looked round the hall, and behold, he said, "behold there in
"glaring colours the evidence of the worst iniquity. Judge not
"of Nero by my words; view him with your own eyes. Those
"images inform against him. Lo! there the ghastly features of
"the murdered Cæsars! You see Nero's mother, brother, and
"sister! his wife, his aunt, his nearest relations! his wretched
"friends! all butchered, all destroyed, by the sword, by famine,
"by poison, by every villany! Direct your eyes to yonder wall;
"you there behold Burhas, Lateranus, Vestinus, Cassius, and
"Lucius Vetus, with a long train of the first men in Rome!
"They suffered for their talents and their virtues. Nor is this
"all: think of your own native genius; call to mind the men,
"born in Spain, who were the ornaments of Roman literature,
"and an honour to their country. There lies Seneca (*r*), the
"enlightened philosopher: he bleeds in a bath, and with his last
"breath teaches the precepts of wisdom! Your great poet, Lu-
"can, whose bosom glowed with the love of freedom, repeats
"his own immortal verses, and expires: his father, Annæus
"Mela, falls a victim, because he was the brother of your great
"philosopher, and the father of such a son. Survey that group:
"you have there Pætus Thrasea, and Barea Soranus, who were
"virtue itself. See that train of illustrious women: Sextia, Pol-
"lutia, and Servilia, all led to execution. That boy is Rufinus
"Crispinus (*s*), the son of Poppæa by her first husband; and,
"not-

“ notwithstanding his tender age and innocence, they dash him
 “ from a rock into the sea. Behold this youth (*t*), whom I
 “ have brought before you from one of the Balearic islands,
 “ where he was condemned to live in exile. He is too young
 “ to know the nature of a crime, or his own wretched lot. Not
 “ yet a citizen, and, behold! he is banished from his country.
 “ These are the exploits of Nero. Vindex has undertaken to be
 “ the deliverer of his country. For you, and all Spain, I am
 “ willing to brave every danger. My commission is from the
 “ senate, and the Roman people. I disclaim the authority of
 “ Nero: to me he is no longer emperor. I know that by him
 “ I am adjudged to death; but, if you resolve to assert your
 “ rights; if you make a common cause with me in that glorious
 “ struggle, I am willing to close my days in your service.”
 This speech inflamed the multitude with uncommon ardour.
 The place resounded with acclamations, and Galba was saluted
 Emperor of Rome. His modesty, or his prudence, made him
 decline that title. He desired to be called the general of the
 senate and the Roman people.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

During these transactions, Nero remained at Naples, still ad-
 dicted to his favourite amusements, enchanting himself and the
 public with his harp, and chiefly intent on bringing to perfec-
 tion an hydraulic organ (*u*), on a new construction, which he
 promised to produce on the stage. But that gay serenity was
 soon overcast. Advices arrived from Spain and Gaul. In the
 former, Galba had thrown off the mask; in the latter, Vindex
 was at the head of a powerful army. Nero shuddered at the
 news; indignation soon succeeded; he threatened to punish the
 rebels with death; his frivolous passions took their turn; he
 went to see the athletic exercises, and tuned his guitar. In that
 manner he passed eight or ten days; no orders given; no letter

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

to the senate; not a word escaped from him; he smothered all in fullen silence. Fresh tidings arrived from Gaul; the proclamations, which Vindex published in every quarter, were delivered to him; he found himself called, in a style of contempt, *Oenobarbus* (*w*), and a vile comedian. Enraged at the indignity offered to his talents, he started up in a sudden fury, overturned the banqueting-table, wrote to the senate to exert the strength of the empire, and, to fire them with indignation, added in pathetic terms, "Judge yourselves, conscript fathers, judge of the infolence of Vindex; in his own words see the malignity of that audacious rebel. He has dared impiously to say that I have a bad voice, and play ill on the guitar." A complaint of that importance could not fail to make an impression on the fathers. They passed a decree, declaring Galba a public enemy, and promising a reward of ten millions of sesterces for the head of Vindex. The Gaul, with superior magnanimity, offered his own head (*x*) to whoever should bring him that of Nero. If he freed the world from a monster, he set no value on his own life; he then would die content.

Virgilius Rufus, who, at that time, commanded on the Upper Rhine, had received orders to take the field against the rebels in Gaul. Whether that officer aspired to the imperial dignity, seems to be a problem not solved by any of the historians. It is certain that the legions, seeing the miseries occasioned by Nero's tyranny, and at length disgusted by the contemptible frolics of an emperor, who rendered it ridiculous to obey him, made a tender of the empire to their own general, whom they respected for his military talents, and the virtues of moderation. Virgilius declined the offer. If he nourished ambition in his heart, he thought it best to suppress it in that juncture, and wait for future events. It belonged, he said, to the senate, and the senate only,

only, not to the legions, to dispose of the sovereignty. Whatever were his views, he still retained a true Roman spirit, and, with indignation, saw a rebel chieftain and his conquered countrymen joined in a league to give an emperor to the mistress of the world. He resolved to collect his forces, and march in quest of the enemy. Gaul was far from acting with a spirit of union. Internal dissensions divided the states into contending factions. The Sequani (*γ*), the Ædui, and Arverni followed the banners of Vindex. The Lingones, and the people of Rheims, accustomed to slavery, and hating the opposite party, declared for Nero. The cities of Vienne and Lyons, which lay contiguous, renewed their ancient animosity; the former lifting on the side of Vindex; the latter, with a pretended regard for their oath of fidelity, espousing the cause of Nero. In that disposition of the public mind, Virginius entered Gaul at the head of his legions, with a strong reinforcement of Belgic auxiliaries, and the Batavian cohorts. He proceeded by rapid marches to Vesontium (*z*), a city in league with Vindex. The inhabitants refused to open their gates. Virginius pitched his camp, determined to lay siege to the place. Vindex advanced to the relief of his confederates. The two armies were in fight of each other. The Gallic chieftain, little doubting that the Roman general's opinion of Nero coincided with his own, thought it prudent, before he tried the issue of a battle, to negotiate by his deputies. He accordingly made his overtures. Various messengers passed between the two commanders, and an interview at last took place. The result was an agreement of some kind, but what were the terms it is fruitless now to enquire. History has left us in the dark. All that can be related with certainty is, that Virginius began to withdraw his forces, and Vindex with his army made his approach to the walls of the town. The legions saw the motions of the enemy, and, imagining that they meant

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

APPENDIX
 TO
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 821.
 A. D.
 68.

meant to offer battle, resolved to begin the attack. The armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine were not enured to discipline. Fierce, and disdainful of all controul, they wanted no orders from their general. A desperate engagement followed. The Gauls were unprepared, but their courage braved every danger. Both sides fought with impetuous fury; the Gauls resenting the treachery of their enemies; the Romans stimulated by their inveterate animosity. Blood and carnage covered all the plain. The legions cut their way with dreadful slaughter, till the Gauls, having lost no less than twenty thousand of their bravest troops, and seeing inevitable destruction on every side, betook themselves to flight. Vindex exerted himself in every quarter of the field to prevent the massacre: but his efforts were in vain. He saw the slaughter of his people, and concluded that Virginius had betrayed him, and the cause of liberty. His enterprise defeated, and no hopes of conquest left, he resolved not to survive a calamity so unexpected. He fell upon his sword, and died on the field of battle.

Meanwhile, all Spain was in commotion. Galba was employed in schemes of future grandeur. He raised a new legion, mustered forces in all quarters, and with his utmost art and industry allured the different states to his interest. Cornelius Fuscus, a young man of illustrious birth, went over to Galba, and drew with him the province of which he was governor. But the great accession of strength was from Lusitania. Otho, who had been the favourite of Nero, and his constant companion in all his scenes of riot and debauchery, had been for some years at the head of that province. He was appointed to that station, as the reader may remember (*aa*), under colour of doing him honour; but, in fact, to remove a rival, whom Nero dreaded, and to leave him at a distance from Rome, in a state of honourable banishment.

banishment. Otho considered himself as no better than a state prisoner, in a remote part of the empire. Resentment prompted him to revenge; and ambition like his was eager to come forth from obscurity, and act a principal part on the great stage of public business. He melted down all his massy gold and silver; and, having converted it into coin, went with his whole treasure, and the forces of his province, to support the enterprise of an old man, who he knew, in the course of nature, could not long enjoy the supreme authority. The other governors and prætors followed his example. The Roman empire seemed to be transferred to Spain. Nero was at last sensible of his danger. He ordered the legions in Illyricum to advance by rapid marches into Italy; he recalled the troops that had been sent against the Albanians to the borders of the Caspian Sea; and he expected the fourteenth legion, then in Britain, to come without loss of time to his assistance. Distracted by the news that filled all Italy, he forgot his hydraulic organ, and returned to Rome, covered with consternation. His fears were soon dispersed. Letters from Virginius Rufus arrived at Rome. The death of Vindex, and the total overthrow of his army, transported Nero beyond all bounds of joy. He called for his musical instruments; he tuned his harp, and warbled songs of triumph.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.
A. U. C.
821.
A. D.
68.

In Spain, the minds of men were affected in a very different manner. Galba saw an unexpected reverse of fortune. He blamed his own imprudence, and accused the folly of an old man, who, at the close of life, was weak enough to listen to the call of ambition. To try, if possible, to retrieve his affairs, he sent dispatches to Virginius Rufus, inviting him to a participation of councils and of future grandeur. The offer was rejected. It was a maxim with Rufus, that the senate and people had the
sole

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

sole right of creating an emperor. The civil power, he said, in every well constituted government, ought to be supreme; to obey is the virtue of a soldier. Galba had no resource left. Half his cavalry shewed themselves alienated from his service, and were retained with difficulty. Dejected, hopeless, and expecting certain destruction from the assassins employed by Nero, he retired to the city of Clunia (*bb*), and there relapsed into his former indolence.

XIII. NERO was now at the summit of his wishes. He triumphed in the pride of his imagination over all his enemies. He had seen on his way from Naples a monumental sculpture, representing a Gaul (*a*) overcome by a Roman soldier, and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head. The gods, he said, presented that object to him as an omen of victory, and their decree was happily fulfilled. Amidst all his frantic joy, his worst enemies were in his own breast. His vices were undermining him with the army as well as the people. He raised immoderate supplies of money, and squandered the whole with wild profusion. An occurrence happened, by which the city was thrown into a violent ferment. A ship arrived from Alexandria, supposed to be loaded with corn, and, therefore, matter of joy to the populace, who dreaded a dearth of provisions. It may be easily imagined what a turn their passions took, when it was known that the vessel brought a freight of sand (*b*) from the banks of the Nile, to smooth the arena for wrestlers and gladiators. The disappointment excited, at first, a laugh of scorn and indignation; vulgar wit and scurrilous jests made Nero an object of contempt; and from contempt the transition to hatred, rage and fury is always sure, and often instantaneous. The public clamour was loud and violent: the people, with one voice, wished to be delivered from a monster; they lamented the

the loss of Vindex; and the prætorian guards, who had been the support of a pernicious reign, began to murmur discontent, and to shew manifest symptoms of disaffection.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

Nymphidius and Tigellinus (*c*), who had often figured in scenes of public iniquity, were joint præfects of the prætorian camp. The former, as has been mentioned, was the son of a woman who prostituted her person to the slaves and freedmen of the emperor Claudius. Having recommended himself by his vices to the favour of Nero, he had the ambition to be thought the issue of an intrigue between his mother, Nymphidia, and Caligula. Nymphidius and his colleague Tigellinus acted in concert, and jointly exerted their pernicious talents. They saw the disposition of the soldiers, and, with the ingratitude of men who had raised themselves by their crimes, thought the opportunity fair to strike a stroke of perfidy. They began by bribes to insinuate themselves into the affections of the prætorian guards, and, when they had sufficiently prepared them for a revolt, whispered to the senate, that Nero was deserted on every side; that he had not a friend left; and that, by consequence, the whole legislative authority was in the hands of the fathers. That assembly remained for some time in suspense; timid, wavering, and irresolute. The conjuncture was dark and gloomy. Nero was alarmed; he paused from his pleasures, and saw that some deep design was in agitation. To prevent it by one bold effort, he formed a resolution to massacre the senate, and, after setting fire to the city a second time, to let loose his whole collection of wild beasts, to devour the people in the general consternation, and save himself by flying into Egypt. This horrible scheme was no sooner conceived than brought to light by one of his favourite eunuchs. This miscreant had been, for some time, subservient to the vices of his master, and lived with him in the

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.
A. D.

68.

dearest intimacy. From a person so beloved nothing was concealed. He was the confidential friend of the emperor, not only in scenes of riot, but also in the most important councils. But the jealousy of an upstart, raised above his base condition, is easily alarmed. The favourite (*d*) thought himself slighted. His pride was roused, and, to revenge the injury, he discovered the particulars of the intended massacre.

A design so black and horrible raised the general indignation. The fathers trembled for themselves, but the habit of slavery had debased their faculties. They saw that no time was to be lost, and yet could not resolve to act with vigour. Nymphidius tried by every means to inspire them with zeal and courage. He had seduced the prætorian guards, and, to secure their affections, promised in Galba's name, but without his authority, a reward of thirty thousand sesterces to each prætorian, and five thousand to each legionary soldier throughout the armies of the empire; a sum so prodigious, that, as Plutarch observes, it could not be raised without worse tyranny, and more violent rapine, than had been felt during the whole reign of Nero. The promise proved, afterwards, fatal to Galba, but served the purposes of a man, who was bent on the ruin of Nero, and, by raising the military above the civil authority, intended to introduce into the political system, two pernicious maxims; the first, that emperors were to be created in the camp, not in the senate; and, secondly, that the imperial dignity was venal, to be, for the future, set up to sale, and disposed of by the soldiers to the highest bidder.

Having settled his measures, and laid the plan of a revolution, he did not as yet think it time to throw off the mask, but, to complete his work, chose to proceed by fraud and dissimulation. He went with Tigellinus to the palace, and, with an air of deep affliction,

affliction, informed Nero of his danger. "All," he said, "is lost; the people, assembled in seditious tumults, call aloud for vengeance; the prætorian guards abandon your cause; and the senate is ready to pronounce a dreadful judgment. You have only one expedient left, and that is, to make your escape, and seek a retreat in Egypt." In this manner the two men, who had been raised from the dregs of the people, left their benefactor. In all his scenes of vice and cruelty they had been his chief abettors, and they now abandoned him at his utmost need.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.
A. U. C.
821.
A. D.
68.

Nero saw the sad reverse of his affairs. From his armies he could expect no support. The troops on their march towards the Caspian sea had been recalled, but a long repose was necessary to revive the spirits of men well nigh exhausted by incessant fatigue. The legions from Illyricum returned with alienated minds. Scorning to disguise their sentiments, they sent a deputation to Virginius on the Upper Rhine, expressing their ardent desire, that he would yield to the request of the legions under his command, and accept the imperial dignity. Eight Batavian cohorts had shewn a spirit of disaffection, and the prætorian guards were under the influence of Nymphidius. In this desperate situation Nero looked round for assistance, but he looked in vain. He wandered through the apartments of his palace, and all was solitude. He, who but a few days before was the god of the senate and the people, was now in dread of being their victim. Conscience began to exercise her rights. Her voice was heard; Nero reviewed his crimes, and shuddered with horror and remorse. He repeated in despair and anguish of heart, a line, which, when personating Œdipus, he had often declaimed on the public stage (*c*): "My wife, my father, and my mother doom me dead." Of all his courtier-fry, and all

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.
A. D.

68.

his instruments of guilt, not one adhered to him in the hour of distress, except Sporus, the eunuch; Phaon (*f*), an enfranchised slave; and Epaphroditus, his secretary. He gave orders to the soldiers on duty, to proceed with all expedition to Ostia, and prepare a ship, that he might embark for Egypt. The men were not willing to obey. One of them asked him in half a line (*g*) from Virgil, "Is it then so wretched a thing to die?" He went to the Servilian gardens, carrying with him a vial of swift-speeding poison, which had been prepared by the well-known (*b*) Locusta; but his resolution failed. He returned to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed. The agitations of his mind allowed no rest. He started up, and called for some friendly hand to end his wretched being. That office no one was willing to perform, and he himself wanted fortitude. Driven to the last despair, and frantic with remorse and fear, he cried out in doleful accents, "My friends desert me, and I cannot find an enemy." He rushed forth from his palace, as if with intent to throw himself into the Tiber. He changed his mind, and thought of flying into Spain, there to surrender at discretion to the mercy of Galba. But no ship was ready at Ostia. Various projects presented themselves to his mind, in quick succession, increasing the tumult of his passions, and serving only to distract him more. To try his powers of eloquence was another expedient that occurred to him. For that purpose he proposed to go forth in a mourning garb to the forum, and there, by a pathetic speech, obtain his pardon from the people. Should their obdurate hearts remain impenetrable to the soft influence of persuasive oratory, and refuse to reinstate their emperor in the full enjoyment of his prerogative, he had no doubt but he could, at the worst, wring from them the government of Egypt, where, in the character of præfect, he might give free scope to his inordinate passions. This project seemed to promise success; but a

ray

ray of reflection struck him with sudden horror. The populace, without waiting to hear the divine accents of that harmonious voice, might break out into open sedition, and in their fury tear their prince limb from limb. What course could he pursue? Where could he hide himself? He looked round in wild despair, and asked his remaining companions, Is there no lurking-place? no safe recess, where I may have time to consider what is to be done? Phaon, his freedman, proposed to conduct him to an obscure villa (*i*), which he held in his possession, at the distance of about four miles from Rome.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.
A. D.

62.

Nero embraced the offer. There was no time to be lost. He went forth in all his wretchedness; without a shoe to his feet; nothing on him but his close tunic; no outside garment; and no imperial robe. In order to disguise himself, he snatched an old rusty cloak, and, throwing it over his shoulders, covered his head, and held a handkerchief before his face. In that condition he mounted his horse, submitting with a dastard spirit to an ignominious flight, without any attendants except Phaon, the freedman; Epaphroditus, the secretary; and Sporus, the eunuch, with another, whose name Aurelius Victor says was Neophytus. In this manner Nero passed the last of his nights. At the dawn of day, the prætorian guards deserted their station at the palace, and joined their comrades in the camp, where, by the influence and direction of Nymphidius, Galba was proclaimed emperor. The senate met, and, after a short debate, confirmed the nomination of the prætorian guards. The time was at length arrived, when that assembly could act with authority. They resolved to mark the day by a decree worthy of a Roman senate. With one voice they declared the tyrant, who had trampled on all laws human and divine, a public enemy (*k*), and, by their sentence, condemned.

APPENDIX
T O
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.

821.
 A. D.
 68.

condemned him to suffer death, according to the rigour of ancient laws, and the practice of the old republic.

XIV. NERO, in the mean time, made the best of his way towards the freedman's villa. He heard the prætorian camp ring with acclamations, and the name of Galba sounded in his ear. A man at work in a field adjoining to the road, started up at the sound of horsemen pressing forward with expedition, and behold! he said, "Those people are hot in pursuit of Nero." Another asked, "What do they say of Nero in the city?" As they drew near to Phaon's house, Nero was alarmed by a sudden accident. His horse started at a dead carcass that lay on the side of the road; and the veil, in consequence of the violent motion, falling from his face, a veteran, who had been dismissed from the service, knew his master, and saluted him by his name. The fear of being detected made the fugitive prince and his followers push forward with their utmost speed. Being arrived at a small distance from the house, they did not think it safe to enter it in a public manner. Nero dismounted, and crossed a field overgrown with reeds (*l*). Phaon advised him to lie concealed in a sand-pit, till he prepared a subterraneous passage into the house. That, said Nero, were to bury myself alive. He scooped up some water out of a muddy ditch, and, having allayed his thirst, asked in a doleful tone, "Is that the beverage to which Nero has been used?" An opening was made in the wall on one side of the mansion, and Nero crept through it. He was conducted to a chamber, where he saw nothing but wretchedness. In that mean room he threw himself on a meaner bed (*m*), and asked for some nourishment. They offered him bread; but it was so black, that his stomach sickened at the sight. The water was foul, but thirst obliged him to swallow the nauseous draught. His friends saw that no hope

was

was left; they dreaded his impending ruin, and advised him to rescue himself by one manly deed from an ignominious death. Nero signified his assent; but he studied delay, fond to linger still in life. Preparations for his funeral were necessary. He ordered a trench to be dug, suited to the dimensions of his body (*n*); a quantity of wood to be collected for the funeral pile; and pieces of marble to be brought to form a decent covering for his grave. He bewailed his unhappy lot; tears gushed at intervals; he heaved a piteous sigh, and said to his friends (*o*), "What a musician the world will lose!"

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.
A. U. C.
821.
A. D.
68.

During this scene of delay and cowardice, a messenger, according to Phaon's orders, arrived with papers from Rome. Nero seized the packet. He read with eagerness, and found himself, not only declared a public enemy, but condemned to suffer death, with the rigour of ancient usage. He asked, What kind of death is that? and what is ancient usage? He was told, that, by the law of the old republic, every traitor, with his head fastened between two stakes, and his body entirely naked, suffered the pains of a slow death under the lictor's rod. The fear of that ignominious punishment inspired Nero with a short-lived passion, which for the moment had the appearance of courage. He drew two daggers, which he had brought with him, and, as if meditating some prodigious deed, tried the points of both; then calmly replaced them in their scabbards, saying, "The fatal moment is not yet come." He turned to Sporus, and requested him to begin the funeral lamentation. "Sing the melancholy dirge; and offer the last obsequies to your friend." He cast his eyes around him: And why, he said, why will not some one dispatch himself, and teach me how to die? He paused for a moment, and shed a flood of tears. He started up, and cried out, in a tone of wild despair, "Nero, this is infamy; you
"linger

APPENDIX
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

“linger in disgrace; this is no time for dejected passions; the moment calls for manly fortitude.”

Those words were no sooner uttered, than he heard the sound of horses advancing with speed towards the house. This he signified by repeating a line from Homer (*p*). The fact was, the senate had given orders, that he should be brought back to Rome to undergo the judgment which they had pronounced, and the officers, charged with that commission, were near at hand. Nero seized his dagger, and stabbed himself in the throat. The stroke was too feeble. Epaphroditus lent his assistance, and the next blow was a mortal wound. A centurion entered the room, and, seeing Nero in a mangled condition, ran immediately to his assistance, pretending that he came with a friendly hand to bind the wound, and save the emperor's life. Nero had not breathed his last. He raised his languid eyes, and faintly said, “You come too late: is this your fidelity (*q*)?” He spoke, and expired. The ferocity of his nature was still visible in his countenance. His eyes fixed and glaring, and every feature swelled with warring passions, he looked more stern, more grim, and terrible than ever.

Nero died in the thirty-second year of his age, on the eleventh day of June, after a reign of thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days (*r*). The news was received at Rome with all demonstrations of joy. The populace ran wild about the streets, with the cap of liberty on their heads (*s*). The forum sounded with acclamations. Icelus, a freedman, who managed Galba's affairs at Rome, had been thrown into prison by Nero; but, on the sudden accession of his master, he was now become a man in power and high authority. He consented that Nero's body should be committed to the flames at the place where

he

he died. The funeral rites were performed without delay, and without pomp. His remains were conveyed to the monumental vault of the Domitian family, his paternal ancestors. The urn was carried by two female servants, and Acte (*t*), the famous concubine. The secrecy, with which the obsequies were performed, was the cause of some untoward consequences, that afterwards disturbed the commonwealth. A doubt remained in the minds of many, whether Nero had not made his escape into Asia or Egypt. The men, who, under a corrupt and profligate reign, had led a life of pleasure, and were, by consequence, enamoured of Nero's vices, paid every mark of respect to his memory, willing, at the same time, to believe that he still survived. They raised a tomb, and, for several years (*u*), dressed it with the flowers of spring and summer. The Parthians honoured his memory, and, being afterwards deluded by an impostor, who assumed the name of Nero, were ready, with the strength of their nation (*w*), to espouse his cause. The race of Cæsars ended with Nero: he was the last, and perhaps the worst, of that illustrious house.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

XV. IN that age, when the public mind was overcast with gloomy apprehensions and religious fear, superstition saw portents and prodigies (*a*) in the most common accidents, and no great event was suffered to pass without a train of awful prognostics. Rivers were said to have changed their course, and to have flowed in a new direction to their fountain-head; a tree, that had stood for ages, coeval with the foundation of Rome, fell suddenly to the ground; the laurel planted by Livia, which had spread with such prodigious increase, that in every triumph it supplied the Cæsars with their victorious wreaths, withered at the root; the temple of the Cæsars being struck with lightning, the heads of all the statues tumbled down at once; and the

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

marble sceptre fell from the hands of Augustus. By these and such like denunciations the will of the gods was supposed to be revealed, and the populace with frantic joy hailed the auspicious æra of returning liberty. But no public spirit remained; every virtue was extinguished. A people who had been taught to crouch under the yoke of bondage, thought no more of a free constitution. With the usual inconstancy of a fickle multitude, they relapsed into their habitual servitude, and in a strain of frantic rapture began to roar for a new master. The name of Galba echoed through the streets of Rome, and filled the prætorian camp with shouts of joy, and the warmest expressions of zeal and ardour for his service. The prætorian guards thought of nothing but the donative promised in his name; and Nymphidius, the author of that measure, had no doubt but the soldiers, in due time, would shew themselves devoted to the man, who filled their minds with the dazzling prospect of a reward so truly great and magnificent. The liberality was his, and the difficulty of carrying it into execution would fall on Galba.

Icelus, the favourite freedman of Galba, made it his business to see Nero's dead body, and, having enabled himself to be an eye-witness of the fact, set out for Clunia in Spain (*b*), to inform his master, that he was raised to the imperial seat by the voice of the prætorians, and the concurrent decree of the senate. Nymphidius seized the opportunity to figure as the principal actor on the theatre of public business. He had accomplished a great and sudden revolution, and, being high in favour with the prætorian guards, found it easy to overawe the senate, and make that tame and pliant assembly bend to his will and pleasure. The consuls, without consulting the arrogant minister, sent their dispatches to Galba, with the decree by which he was declared emperor. This was considered by this new man as a

mark

mark of disrespect (*c*), and it was with difficulty that the magistrates appeased his indignation. Flushed with success, and proud of his exploits, he began to enlarge his views, and preposterously to form schemes of vast ambition. Under an emperor at the age of seventy-three (*d*), worn out with cares, and weary of public business, he flattered himself that he should be able, under the appearance of being the second in the state, to wrest into his own hands the supreme authority; and, should Galba's infirmities sink under the fatigue of a long journey, he had the hardiness to aspire to the succession. Having conceived this mad project, he resolved to remove every obstacle, and, with that view, compelled Tigellinus to resign his commission (*e*) of prætorian præfect. A colleague, acting with himself in joint authority, might retard the execution of his designs. Men of consular rank, who had commanded armies and governed provinces, did not blush to pay their court to him. The senate (*f*) acted with the same servile adulation. They crowded to his levee, and suffered him to prescribe the form and substance of every decree that passed. The populace broke out with licentious fury, and Nymphidius, effectually to seduce the vulgar mind, encouraged the madness of the times. The images and statues of Nero were dragged through the streets, and dashed to pieces. A crew of vile incendiaries spread consternation through the city; a scene of blood and massacre followed (*g*), and the innocent fell in one promiscuous carnage with the guilty. Mauricus beheld the phrensy of the multitude with such inward horror, that he could not help saying in the senate, "Let us take care that we have not reason to regret the loss of Nero (*b*)."

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.
821.
A. D.
68.

Nymphidius soon perceived that his hopes of being the only statesman in power, and of governing the Roman world in the emperor's name, could not be entertained with any prospect

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

of success. He knew by certain intelligence that Vinius, Laco, and Icelus were the men (*i*) who stood highest in the esteem of Galba. The scheme of supplanting them was, therefore, abandoned; but it made way for a project of the most daring ambition. He was resolved to depose the emperor, whom he himself had created, and, by another revolution, to seize the imperial dignity. To forward this design, he sent dispatches to Galba (*k*), stating the danger of entering the city at a time when the whole empire was in convulsions. Rome, he said, was in a ferment; Clodius Macer excited a rebellion in Africa; the German armies were disaffected, and the legions in Syria and Judæa prepared to dispute with the prætorian guards the right of creating an emperor. In the mean time a dark conspiracy was formed. Nymphidius planned his measures with dispatch and vigour, determined to seize the supreme power. He drew into his league a number of both sexes, all of great consideration, and extensive influence. Claudius Celsus was his intimate friend; but he saw the folly of the enterprise, and with freedom and sincerity advised Nymphidius to desist from a wild attempt, in which he could not expect the support of the people or the senate. There is not, he said, a single family in Rome, willing to give the name of Cæsar (*l*) to the son of Nymphidia. That remonstrance had no effect on a mind inflamed with the fever of wild ambition. Nymphidius called a meeting of his party. All agreed that no time was to be lost. They resolved to strike the blow that very night, and to conduct Nymphidius to the prætorian camp, where they had no doubt but with one voice he would be declared emperor of Rome. On such an occasion it was necessary that the person raised to that elevation should be prepared to address the soldiers, in a suitable style. Cingonius Varro (*m*), a corrupt and venal orator, composed a speech for that purpose, and the illiterate emperor was to grace himself with borrowed eloquence.

The

The design of the conspirators was not so well concealed, but it reached the ear of Antonius Honoratus (*n*), a tribune in the camp, who had acquired a great military character, and was, besides, respected for his unblemished honour, and unshaken fidelity. Towards the close of day, he called a meeting of the prætorians, and, after laying open, in detail, all the circumstances of the plot, delivered a speech in substance as follows (*o*):

“ How long, my fellow soldiers, shall our folly, our madness,
 “ or our evil genius, hurry us on from one treason to another?
 “ A few days only have elapsed, since you deposed Nero. In
 “ that business you behaved like men, who felt for the public
 “ good. You had every provocation, and the crimes of that
 “ flagitious tyrant justified the act. You are recent from that
 “ revolution, and wherefore do you want another? You de-
 “ clared for Galba, and why now abandon him? Why with
 “ unheard of treachery betray the emperor, whom you your-
 “ selves created? Has he been guilty of parricide? Has he
 “ murdered his mother, and destroyed his wife? Has he ex-
 “ posed the imperial dignity to contempt and ridicule? Has he
 “ tuned his harp on the stage, or driven a curricule in the race?
 “ And yet, notwithstanding all the flagitious deeds of that
 “ hardened monster, in spite of all his vices, we supported him,
 “ blushing indeed for his follies, and smarting under his tyranny.
 “ We adhered to him with fidelity; and if, in the end, we
 “ thought fit to create another emperor, Nymphidius was the
 “ author of that measure. By his artifices we were taught to
 “ believe that Nero deserted us first, and fled to Egypt. We
 “ concluded that he had abdicated, and, by consequence, what
 “ we did, was an act of necessity. And what is our design at
 “ present? What do we wish? What do we aim at? Must
 “ Galba fall a sacrifice to appease the manes of Nero? Shall a
 “ descendant from the family of the Servii; a relation of Quin-

APPENDIX
 TO
 BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

“ tus

APPENDIX
 TO
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
 821.
 A. D.
 68.

“ tus Catulus, and by ties of affinity connected with Livia (*p*),
 “ the wife of Augustus ; say, my fellow soldiers, shall such a
 “ man be deposed and murdered, to make way for the son of
 “ Nymphidia ? It was his treachery, his base ingratitude that
 “ occasioned the death of Nero : let him suffer the justice due
 “ to his crime ; and let us give proof of our fidelity. Let us
 “ deserve the esteem of Galba, by delivering him from a
 “ traitor.”

This speech made an impression on the soldiers. One mind, one sentiment pervaded the whole camp ; Galba was their emperor, and they would acknowledge no other. This was followed by a general shout. Nymphidius heard the sound, and proceeded to the camp (*q*). Whether he thought that the acclamations of the men were in his favour, or that his presence was necessary to quell an insurrection, cannot now be known. He went attended by a numerous train, and a blaze of torches, with the speech composed for him by Cingonius Varro, ready in his hand to be read aloud to the soldiers. The gates of the camp were shut, and guards were stationed on the ramparts. Nymphidius desired to know, by whose order they were under arms ? The men answered with one voice, We are armed in the cause of Galba, and we know no other emperor. Nymphidius had not the prudence to retire from the walls. Diffimulation he thought would cloak his design. He commended the zeal of the prætorians, and assured them that he, and his followers, were the avowed friends of Galba. The sentinels opened the gates. Nymphidius entered with some of his friends : the pass was immediately secured ; and the soldiers attacked him sword in hand. He endeavoured to save himself in a tent, but was pursued, and massacred on the spot. His body, on the following day, was dragged through the camp, a spectacle for public view. Such

was

was the end of a low-born base incendiary, who saw, that, in the general profligacy of the times, the weak were the willing dupes of the wicked. By forming a league with the most abandoned, he flattered himself, that the lowest of mankind, who in better times could not hope to be entrusted with the rank of a common centurion, might boldly aspire to make himself master of the Roman empire.

APPENDIX
^{TO}
 BOOK XVI.
 A. U. C.
^{821.}
 A. D.
 68.

XVI. AN account of all that passed was conveyed to Galba with incredible speed. By his order, all, who were suspected of taking a part in the mad projects of Nymphidius, were seized, and, without further enquiry, or any form of trial, put to death. Cingonius Varro, at that time consul elect, was in the number; and, what was very extraordinary, Mithridates (*a*), the dethroned king of Pontus, who had surrendered to Claudius, and from that time lived at Rome, was hurried to execution, without being heard in his defence. Petronius Turpilianus (*b*) was another unhappy victim. He had been chosen by Nero to command his armies; and, though he never went from Rome to execute his commission, the very appointment was deemed a sufficient crime. These bloody executions were inauspicious in the opening of a new reign. The cruelty of Nero seemed to be renewed, when the people expected a milder government, and a regular administration of law and justice. The fate of Turpilianus filled the city with murmurs of discontent. It was known that Tigellinus presided at the execution; and that a man of worth and honour should bleed under the eye of a detested miscreant, appeared to be a continuation of the late reign, and the triumph of vice over every virtue.

Galba set out from Spain, proceeding by slow marches, and still wearing the military robe of a general officer, with a dagger (*c*)

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

hanging from his neck down to his breast. Strong suspicion, a sense of injuries, and dark mistrust, with other passions unworthy of a prince, lay lurking in his heart. Before he began his journey, Obultronus Sabinus (*d*), and Cornelius Marcellus, two governors of provinces in Spain, who had shewn no inclination to his party, were put to death by his order. Betuus Chilo met with the same fate in Gaul. Dispatches were also sent to Garrucianus, in Africa, commanding the immediate execution of Clodius Macer (*e*), the proprætor of the province, who was known to have concerted measures for a revolt. It happened, however, that Calvia Crispinilla (*f*), the famous manager of Nero's pleasures, arrived in Africa, and insinuated herself into the secret councils of the governor. By her advice he formed a resolution to establish for himself a new province independent of Rome. Their scheme, for that purpose, was to lay an embargo on all ships loaded with corn, in order to afflict the city of Rome with all the miseries of famine. A legion was also raised; and Macer, at the head of a considerable army, was on the eve of renouncing all subjection to Rome, when Papirius, a centurion sent by order of Galba, gained access to his presence, and stabbed him to the heart.

Fonteius Capito (*g*), who commanded the legions on the Lower Rhine, was put to death about the same time. It was this officer that sent Julius Civilis (*b*) a prisoner to Rome, during the reign of Nero. The charge was without foundation, and, in time, was the fatal cause of the destructive war, in which Rome was involved by the fierce resentment of that warlike chief. Avarice was the vice of Capito. He was in haste to grow rich, and felt no scruple about the means. Ambition was laid to his charge, but an unguarded expression was the only evidence against him. It happened that he sat in judgment on a
foldier,

soldier accused of a capital crime, and condemned him to suffer death. "Know, said the prisoner, that I appeal to Cæsar." Capito rose, and, placing himself on a higher seat, told the man, "Now appeal to Cæsar: make your defence in his presence." The soldier obeyed, and was sent to execution. This transaction was reported to Fabius Valens (*i*), who commanded a legion in the Lower Germany; an officer of acknowledged ability, intrepid, active, and ambitious; eager in the pursuit of honours, and panting to signalize himself by some bold exploit. The opportunity now occurred, and he resolved to seize it. Crispinus, a centurion (*k*), was devoted to his service. In that man he found a ready assassin, and Fonteius Capito fell a victim. The death of that commander Valens concluded would be considerable merit with the new emperor. He lost no time, but sent an express to inform Galba of what he had done, with zeal, for the service of his sovereign. He added, in the same letter, that the legions on the Upper Rhine had made a tender of the empire to Virginius Rufus, who remained in suspense, and, with affected delays, hesitated about his final answer. Galba received the news of Capito's death with secret satisfaction, but he thought it more prudent to connive, than openly to approve. Virginius was still a dangerous rival. In order to draw him away from the army, and free himself from all danger in that quarter, he invited him to an amicable interview, having secretly appointed Hordeonius Flaccus to succeed to the command of the legions. The stratagem succeeded. The conqueror of Vindex went to the meeting, and found himself the dupe of pretended friendship. He met with a cold reception, very different from what was due to the man who wished to establish the civil authority, and to place the legislative power of the state in the senate only. He lived to be a spectator of the distractions and calamities that followed; and,

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.

A. U. C.

821.

A. D.

68.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.
A. U. C.

321.
A. D.
98.

that he was not an actor in those scenes of blood and horror (*l*), was the recompense of uncommon virtue.

Galba had no further reason to be alarmed. He saw the armies of Rome willing to acquiesce, and peace in every part of the empire. He, therefore, changed his military robe for the Roman gown, and assumed the name (*m*) of Cæsar. But even in that tide of his affairs, the simplicity of his manners suffered no alteration. The same frugality, the same contempt of pomp and luxury, and the same austerity still remained. Vinius covered his table with a profusion of luxury; and Otho, who attended the cavalcade into Italy, displayed all the magnificence of Nero's court. Galba still preserved his rules of ancient frugality, and condemned the vain parade (*n*) with inflexible rigour. He shewed himself ready to punish, and slow to reward. In his manners no affability, no engaging courtesy. During the whole of his march he never once endeavoured, by an act of condescension, to gain the affections of the people. The army in Italy consisted, at that time, of four different classes of men; namely, the legions, both foot and cavalry, composed chiefly of Roman citizens; the auxiliary forces, drafted from the states in alliance with Rome; the body of marines, levied in the tributary cities, and considered as slaves in the service of Rome; and fourthly, the gladiators, who were to shed their blood in battle, if the occasion required, or in the circus, for the diversion of the populace. The marines, classed, as above, in the third division, were called forth by Nero, when he projected a war on the borders of the Caspian sea, to be formed into a new legion. The men collected upon that occasion amounted to a prodigious number, and all were quartered in the city. Being informed that Galba was near at hand, they rushed forth in a tumultu-

ous

ous body to the Milvian bridge, about three miles from Rome, where they beset the road, obstructed the emperor's train, and, with violent clamour, demanded a confirmation of their military rank, with an eagle to distinguish their legion, and an allotment of winter quarters (*o*). Their application, they were told, was out of season, but might be renewed at a more convenient time and place. The answer was deemed evasive, and nothing short of an absolute refusal. The men were fired with indignation; a mutiny ensued; they advanced sword in hand, determined to extort by force what they considered as a legal right. Galba was not of a temper to yield to sudden emergencies. He ordered his soldiers to disperse an insolent rabble. The cavalry rushed on to the charge with impetuous fury, and, meeting with a feeble resistance, cut their way with dreadful slaughter. It is said that no less than seven thousand were put to the sword. The rest submitted at discretion, and were afterwards ordered to be decimated.

APPENDIX
TO
BOOK XVI.
A. U. C.
821.
A. D.
68.

This tragic catastrophe spread a general consternation. Galba entered the city of Rome through a scene of blood, and men expected nothing less than a renewal of all the cruelties of Nero's reign. He carried with him many virtues, but he had in his train Titus Vinius, Cornelius Laco, and Icelus, his freedman (*p*); three pernicious ministers, who gained an entire ascendant over a venerable, but indolent, old man, and by their vices occasioned the dreadful calamities, which, in the following year, overwhelmed themselves, their master, and the public.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

O F

T H E C Æ S A R S.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

1. **CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR**, descended from the illustrious line of the Julian family, and father of Cæsar the dictator. He served the office of prætor. He, and his brother Lucius Cæsar, died A. U. 670. Julia, their sister, married C. Marius, who was seven times consul.—Suetonius, *Life of Jul. Cæs.* f. 1, 6. Pliny the elder, book vii. f. 53. Plutarch, *Life of Marius*.

2. **AURELIA**, the wife of C. J. Cæsar, and mother of the dictator; a woman of extraordinary talents and virtue.—Plut. *Life of Jul. Cæs.* Tacitus, *Dialogue of Oratory*, f. 28.

3. **CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR**, the dictator; born in the sixth consulship of Marius, A. U. 654; before Christ, 100. He gained a complete victory at Pharsalia, and became emperor of Rome A. U. 706. He was killed in the capitol by Brutus, Cassius, and other conspirators, A. U. 710. The number slain in his wars is computed at 1,192,000 men. Plutarch says that Cæsar, in his various battles, engaged no less than 3,000,000; that he killed 1,000,000, and took another million prisoners.—Velleius Paterculus, book ii. f. 41. Pliny, book vii. f. 25.

He was called after his death the divine Julius, **DIVUS JULIUS**.

4. **COSSUTIA**,

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

4. **COSSUTIA**, Julius Cæsar's first wife, of an equestrian family, and immoderately rich. Cæsar married her when he was young, and was soon divorced.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, f. 1.

5. **CORNELIA**, Cæsar's second wife. She was the daughter of Cinna, four times consul. Sylla tried in vain to compel J. Cæsar to repudiate her. He spoke her funeral panegyric.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, f. 1, 6. Plutarch, Life of J. Cæsar.

6. **JULIA**, daughter of Julius Cæsar by Cornelia. She married Servilius Cæpio, and, being divorced from him, became the wife of Pompey the Great, A. U. 695. She died A. U. 700. Her funeral oration was spoken by Octavius. Honours were instituted to her memory by Julius Cæsar.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, f. 21.

7. **CNEIUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS**, born A. U. 648. He married Julia, Cæsar's daughter. He entered on the public magistracy at the age of eighteen. He was defeated by Julius Cæsar in the battle of Pharsalia, and put to death in Ægypt, A. U. 706.—Vell. Pat. book ii. f. 29. Plutarch, Life of Pompey.

8. A SON of Pompey the Great, by Julia, the daughter of J. Cæsar. Died A. U. 701.—Vell. Pater. book ii. f. 47.

9. A DAUGHTER of Pompey, by Julia, Cæsar's daughter. Died A. U. 701.—Plutarch, Life of J. Cæsar.

10. **POMPEIA**, daughter of Quintus Pompeius, grand-daughter of Lucius Sylla, and third wife of Julius Cæsar, who repudiated her on account of a supposed intrigue with Publius Clodius.

Being

Being asked what was his reason, he made answer, Cæsar's wife must not only be free from guilt, but also from suspicion.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, f. 6. Plutarch, Life of Cæsar.

11. CALPURNIA, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, married to J. Cæsar A. U. 695. After the death of her husband she fled for protection to Marc Anthony.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, f. 81.

12. JULIA, sister of Julius Cæsar, being the daughter of C. J. Cæsar the prætor, and Aurelia his wife. She was married to M. Atius Balbus.—Suet. Life of Augustus, f. 4.

13. MARCUS ATIUS BALBUS, married Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar. He was grandfather to Augustus.—Suet. Life of Aug. f. 4.

14. ATIA, daughter of M. Atius Balbus, by his wife Julia, the sister of J. Cæsar. She married Caius Octavius, and by him was mother of Augustus.—Suet. Life of Aug. f. 4. Tacit. Dialogue of Orators, f. 28.

15. CAIUS OCTAVIUS, husband of Atia, the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, by Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar. Octavius, afterwards the emperor Augustus, was, of course, grand nephew to Julius Cæsar.—Suet. Life of Aug. f. 3, 4, 5.

16. OCTAVIA, daughter of Atia and Caius Octavius, and sister to Augustus. She was promised in marriage to Faustus Sylla, but married Claudius Marcellus. After his death she married Marc Anthony. She was a woman of exemplary virtue, and great literary accomplishments. She died A. U. 743. Augustus delivered her funeral panegyric.—Suet. Life of Jul. Cæsar, f. 27.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

17. **CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS**, husband of Octavia, and brother-in-law to Augustus. He was consul A. U. 704. Though nearly related to Cæsar the dictator, he was always an enemy to his cause.—Suet. Life of Jul. Cæsar. f. 27.

18. **MARCUS MARCELLUS**, son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, and, consequently, nephew to Augustus. A youth of great expectation, highly esteemed by his uncle, and by him intended to be next in succession to the imperial dignity. He died prematurely A. U. 731. Augustus paid distinguished honours to his memory, and Virgil has made him immortal.—Tacit. Annal. ii. f. 41. Annal. iii. f. 64. Virgil, Æneid vi. ver. 883.

19. **POMPEIA**, daughter of Sextus Pompeius, promised in marriage to Marcus Marcellus, A. U. 715.

Julia, daughter of Augustus by his wife Scribonia, married Marcus Marcellus, A. U. 729, two years before his death.—Dio Cassius, book xlviii.

20. **MARCELLA** the elder, daughter of Claudius Marcellus by his wife Octavia, and sister to the last-mentioned Marcellus. She was first married to Apuleius, and afterwards to Valerius Messala.—Suet. Life of Aug. f. 53.

21. **APULEIUS**, husband of Marcella the elder. He is thought to have been the son of Sextus Apuleius, who was consul A. U. 725.—Dio Cassius, book liv.

22. **APULEIA VARILLA**, daughter of Marcella the elder by her husband Apuleius. She was also grand niece to Augustus. Being

Being condemned for adultery A. U. 770, she was banished two hundred miles from Rome.—Tacit. Annal. ii. f. 50.

23. M. VALERIUS MESSALA BARBATUS, second husband of Marcella the elder. He was consul A. U. 742.—Suetonius, Life of Augustus, f. 63. Life of Claudius, f. 26.

24. M. VALERIUS MESSALA, son of Valerius Messala Barbatas and of Marcella the elder. He was father of the famous Messalina.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26.

25. DOMITIA LEPIDA, daughter of Antonia the younger, by her husband Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. She was the wife of the last-mentioned Valerius Messala, and mother of Messalina; a woman of debauched and profligate manners, and a violent impetuous spirit; in point of beauty, riches, and vice, the rival of Agrippina, Nero's mother. She was condemned to death A. U. 807.—Tacit. Annal. xi. f. 37. Annal. xii. f. 64. See Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26. Life of Nero, f. 7.

26. VALERIA MESSALINA, daughter of Valerius Messala and Domitia Lepida. She was wife to the emperor Claudius; a woman of furious and till then unheard of lewdness. While Claudius was at Ostia, she had the hardiness openly to celebrate her nuptials with Silius, and for that unparalleled crime was put to death A. U. 801.—Tacit. Annal. xi. f. 26. Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26.

27. MARCELLA the younger, daughter of Claudius Marcellus and Octavia, sister to Augustus. She was first married to M. Vipfanius Agrippa, and afterwards to M. Julius Antonius.

—Suetonius, Life of Augustus, f. 63. Plutarch, Life of Marc Anthony.

For M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, see No. 47.

28. THE issue of Vipfanius Agrippa, by his first wife Marcella, before he was married to Julia, the daughter of Augustus by his wife Scribonia.—Suet. Life of Aug. f. 63.

29. MARCUS JULIUS ANTONIUS, son of Marc Anthony the triumvir and Fulvia his wife. He married Marcella the younger, when repudiated by Agrippa. He was consul A. U. 744; a man of libidinous passions. He was put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the daughter of Augustus. The ode of Horace, *Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari*, is addressed to him.—Tacit. Annal. iii. f. 18. Annal. iv. f. 44. Horace, book iv. ode 2.

30. LUCIUS ANTONIUS, son of M. Julius Antonius by Marcella the younger. On account of his father's guilt with Julia, he was sent in his infancy to Marfeilles, under a pretence of education, but, in fact, to a place of exile. He died A. U. 778.—Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 44.

31. MARC ANTHONY, the triumvir, son of Marcus Antonius the celebrated orator. He was the second husband of Octavia, sister to Augustus, A. U. 714; but being in love with Cleopatra, he repudiated Octavia A. U. 722. After the assassination of Julius Cæsar, he seized the public treasure, which was deposited *in the temple of Ops*. He was at all times a turbulent and dangerous citizen; during the triumvirate, headlong, furious, and oppressive. The rage, with which he pushed on the proscription, rendered him detestable. The supreme power was often within his reach, but all his actions proved him unworthy

of

of that elevation. He was defeated at Actium A. U. 724. The murder of Cicero consigned his name to eternal infamy. By the manner of his death he effaced much of the shame that branded his former conduct.—See Velleius Paterculus, book ii. f. 60 and 87. Pliny the elder, book vii. f. 45. Plutarch, Life of Anthony. Cicero, Philippic Orations.

The inscriptions of him on medals are, *Marcus Antonius, Marci Filius, Marci Nepos, Augur, Imperator, Consul designatus iterum et tertium, Triumvir Reipublicæ constituendæ.*

32. ANTONIA the elder, daughter of Anthony the triumvir by Octavia sister to Augustus. She married L. Domitius Ænobarbus. She is called by Tacitus, Antonia the younger, which makes it probable that Marc Anthony had a former daughter, called Antonia, by his wife Fulvia.—See Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 44. Suet. Life of Nero, f. 5. Plutarch, Life of Marc Anthony.

33. LUCIUS DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, son of Cneius Domitius, one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar, and husband of Antonia the elder; a man of an impetuous temper, violent, proud, extravagant, and cruel. He commanded in Germany, and marched his army beyond the Elbe (Albis); and having penetrated farther than any Roman had done before him, he obtained the honours of a triumph. He died A. U. 778.—Suet. Life of Nero, f. 4. Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 44.

34. CNEIUS DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, son of the last-mentioned L. D. Ænobarbus, by Antonia the elder. He married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, A. U. 781; was consul A. U. 785. His life was a series of evil deeds. He was the father of Nero, and was used to say, that from himself and Agrippina.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Agrippina nothing good or valuable could be born.—Suet. Life of Nero, f. 5. Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 75.

For AGRIPPINA, his wife, see No. 93.

35. LUCIUS DOMITIUS NERO, the sixth Roman emperor, son of Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus by Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus. She was grand-daughter to the famous Agrippa, by Julia the daughter of Augustus. Nero was born 15th December, A. U. 790, the detestable offspring of two pernicious parents. He was called simply Domitius, till by the adoption of Claudius, A. U. 803, he passed into the Claudian family, and took the name of Nero. He began his reign, A. U. 807, with such favourable circumstances, as, for a time, gave promise of a virtuous prince. His enormities, afterwards, delivered him down to the execration of posterity. The burning of Rome was imputed to him. The Christian religion has to boast, that the foe of human kind was the enemy of her moral doctrine. He was a burthen to himself, and detested by all orders of men. He was condemned to die, *more majorum*, by a decree of the senate. He escaped a public execution, and died in a dastardly manner by his own hand, A. U. 821, A. D. 68. By his death the race of the Cæsars became extinct.—Suet. Life of Nero, f. 6. Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 25; and see Appendix to Annals, book xvi. Pliny, book xxii. f. 22 and 46.

The inscriptions on medals are, *Nero Claudius, Divi Claudii Filius, Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Imperator, Tribunitiâ Potestate Pater Patriæ.*

36. OCTAVIA, daughter of the emperor Claudius by Messalina. She was born A. U. 795. Britannicus was her brother.

her. She was contracted to Lucius Silanus, but married to Nero A. U. 806; worthy of better times, and a better husband. Nero repudiated her for the sake of Poppæa. She was banished to the island of Pandataria, and there put to death, A. U. 815.—Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 3, 25; and Annal. xiv. f. 60, 64. Dio Cassius, book lxi.

For BRITANNICUS, her brother, see No. 108.

37. POPPÆA SABINA, daughter of Titus Ollius by Poppæa Sabina. She was married first to Rufius Crispinus; 2dly, to Marcus Salvius Otho, afterwards emperor; and at length to Nero, A. U. 815. The vices of her character resembled those of the emperor. He loved her tenderly, yet killed her by a kick on her womb when she was with child, A. U. 818. Her body was not burnt, but filled with spices, and deposited in the monument of the Cæsars. Three years after her death, Nero dedicated a temple to her memory, with an inscription, *To Sabina the Goddess Venus—Sabinæ Deæ Veneri*.—Tacit. Annal. xiii. f. 45; Annal. xvi. f. 6. Suet. Life of Nero, f. 35. Dio Cassius, book lxiii.

38. CLAUDIA AUGUSTA, daughter of Nero and Poppæa; born at Antium A. U. 816. She was soon after her birth dignified with the title of *Augusta*. She died within four months, to the great grief of Nero. She was canonized a goddess by a decree of the senate.—Tacit. Annal. xv. f. 23. Suet. Life of Nero, f. 35.

Her inscription on medals is, DIVA CLAUDIA NERONIS FILIA; *The Goddess Claudia, Daughter of Nero*.

39. STATILIA

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

39. STATILIA MESSALINA, who drew her lineage through several descents from Statilius Taurus. She was the third wife of Nero, who, to possess her person, murdered her first husband Atticus Vestinus A. U. 818.—Suet. Life of Nero, f. 35. Tacit. Annal. xv. f. 68.

40. DOMITIA, daughter of Antonia the elder by Lucius Ænobarbus; aunt to Nero, and the wife of Passienus Crispus. Nero destroyed her by poison A. U. 812.—Tacit. Annal. xiii. f. 19, 21. Quintilian, book vi. f. 1.

For PASSIENUS CRISPUS, see No. 94.

41. CAIUS APPIUS JUNIUS SILANUS. He was governor of Spain. By the desire of Claudius he married Domitia Lepida, the mother of Messalina, and was soon after put to death by order of that emperor, A. U. 795.—Dio Cassius, book lx.

42. ANTONIA the younger, second daughter of Anthony the triumvir by Octavia sister to Augustus. She married Nero Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and was the mother of Germanicus; a woman distinguished by her beauty, and no less by her virtue. She survived Drusus, her husband, many years, leading an exemplary life in a state of widowhood, and by the whole tenour of her conduct almost eclipsing the lustre of her ancestors.—Pliny, book vii. f. 19. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 1. Tacit. Annal. iii. f. 3. Annal. xi. f. 3. Plutarch, Life of Marc Anthony. Valerius Maximus, book iv. f. 3.

43. CAIUS OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, Augustus, emperor of Rome. He was the son of Caius Octavius by his wife Atia, who was niece to Julius Cæsar. He was born 23d September,
A. U.

A. U. 691. At the age of nineteen he took the lead in the civil wars, and, in three years after, not one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar (who had adopted him for his son) survived the fury of the destructive sword. Sextus Pompeius was totally defeated in a naval engagement off the coast of Sicily. Lepidus, one of the triumvirate, was dismantled of his power; and Marc Anthony was overthrown at the battle of Actium. After those events, Octavius was the only surviving chief of the Julian party. He became emperor of Rome A. U. C. 724.

During the whole course of his reign, pacific measures were the object of his policy. Letters flourished, and men of genius met with encouragement. By his popular acts he gained the affections of the people, with the title of AUGUSTUS, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Scythia, Sarmatia, the Garamantes and Bactrians, India, and the people called the SERES, submitted to his authority, and sent their ambassadors to settle the terms of a general peace. At Rome, and the capital cities of the provinces, temples, orders of priesthood, sacerdotal colleges, were dedicated to him, not only after his death, but, in many places, during his life. He died at Nola on the 18th of August, A. U. 767. His character, strictly examined, was more splendid for his policy than his virtues. He owed his elevation to the vices of Lepidus and Anthony, and the abilities of Vipsanius Agrippa; but it redounds to his praise, that, what he gained by the prudence and valour of others he was able to support, by a well-judged system of policy, during a space of four-and-forty years. It was said of him, that he found the city of Rome made with brick, and he changed it to marble. Though deified, even during his life in some parts of the empire, he was taught by various incidents, that he was no more than man.—See Suet. Life of Augustus. Tacit. book i. of the Annals; book xiii. f. 6. Florus, book iv.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

chap. xii. Aurelius Victor, chap. i. Pliny, book vii. f. 45.
Seneca, de Consolatione, 34.

Inscriptions on Ancient Medals :

Before his elevation to the supreme power, *Octavius Cæsar, Son of the deified Julius, Imperator, Triumvir for the Purpose of restoring the Commonwealth, Consul, the Assertor of public Liberty.*

After his accession to the empire, *Cæsar, Augustus, Son of the deified Julius Cæsar, Imperator, Consul, chief Pontiff, and, with the tribunitian Power, Father of his Country.*

After his death, *Divus Augustus*, the deified Augustus.

44. CLODIA, daughter of Publius Clodius, by his wife Fulvia, and daughter-in-law to Anthony the triumvir. In order to conciliate terms of peace, Augustus married her, when she was yet of tender years ; but a quarrel taking place with Fulvia, her mother, Augustus repudiated her in her virgin state.—Suet. Life of Aug. f. 62.

45. SCRIBONIA, sister of Lucius Scribonius Libo, and wife of Augustus. She had been married twice before to two men of consular rank, and by one of them, whose name was Scipio, she had a daughter named Cornelia. Augustus repudiated Scribonia A. U. 715, and Livia, in a few years afterwards, succeeded to the embraces of the emperor of Rome.—Suet. Life of Aug. f. 63, 69. Dio, book xlviii. Propertius, book iv. eleg. 2.

46. JULIA, daughter of Augustus, by his wife Scribonia, born A. U. 715. She was married, first, to Marcellus; secondly,

to

to Agrippa; and thirdly, to Tiberius; a woman of dissolute conduct, libidinous passions, and abandoned infamy. On account of her adulterous intrigues, she was banished by Augustus to the island of Pandataria A. U. 752. She was left there by Tiberius, to pine in want and misery. She died A. U. 767.—Pliny, book vii. f. 45. Dio, book lv. Tacit. Annal. i. f. 53. Vell. Paterculus, book ii. f. 100.

For her first husband, MARCUS MARCELLUS, see No. 18.

47. MARCUS VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA; a man of low extraction, in his manners unpolished, even to a degree of rusticity. For those defects he made ample atonement by superior qualities; in war, a great commander; and through life a man of unblemished integrity. He gained signal victories both by land and sea, and by his brilliant success established Augustus on the imperial throne. A stranger to letters and the fine arts, he was, notwithstanding, the friend of science. At a time when geographical knowledge had made little or no progress, he framed a map of the world, and presented it to the public. Not only Rome but Italy was adorned, under his direction, with public buildings no less useful than magnificent. Augustus, to shew a grateful sense of his services and his merit, raised him to three several consulships, and even made him his associate in the tribunitian power. On the death of Marcus Marcellus (see No. 18), Augustus chose him for his son-in-law, and gave him in marriage his daughter Julia, then a widow, A. U. 733. Agrippa, though a new man, had the art of rising in the world with superior dignity. He died A. U. 742, in the fifty-first year of his age. Augustus spoke his funeral panegyric. Tacit. Annal. i. f. 3. Pliny, book iii. f. 2; book vii. f. 8; book xxxv. f. 4. Dio, book liv. Vell. Paterculus, book ii. f. 96.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

He was called in ancient medals, *Marcus Agrippa, Son of Lucius, Consul three times, Commander of the Fleet, and Præfect of the Sea-coast.*

48. CAIUS CÆSAR, son of Agrippa and Julia, born A. U. 734; adopted by Augustus as his son, prince of the Roman youth, and consul elect. He was prematurely cut off, on his return from Armenia, A. U. 757.—Tacit. Annal. i. f. 3. Dio, book liv.

He was married to Livia, the sister of Germanicus.—Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 40.

For LIVIA, his wife, see No. 71.

49. LUCIUS CÆSAR, son of Agrippa and Julia, brother to Caius Cæsar, born A. U. 737; adopted by Augustus into the Cæfarean family; styled prince of the Roman youth; and declared consul elect. He died at Marseilles, on his way to join the army in Spain, in the month of August, A. U. 754. Tacit. Annal. i. f. 3.

In ancient medals, both brothers are called, *Caius and Lucius Cæsars, Sons of Augustus, Consuls elect, Princes of the Roman Youth.*

50. MARCUS AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS, son of Agrippa and Julia; brother to Caius and Lucius; born after his father's death, A. U. 742. He was adopted by Augustus A. U. 757, and soon after, on account of his uncouth manners, and stupid ferocity, banished to the island of Planasia. No kind of guilt could be imputed to him; no disgraceful or flagitious action was laid to

his charge ; and, for that reason, Augustus, towards the end of his life, began to relent. He intended to restore him to his rank, and, it is said, made a voyage to the isle of Planasia for the purpose of a reconciliation. Augustus, however, did not live to carry his design into execution. Agrippa Posthumus was cut off by order of Tiberius, who made that murder the first act of his reign, A. U. 767.—Dio, book liv. Velleius Paterculus, book ii. f. 104. Tacit. Annals, book i. f. 3, 6. Pliny, book vii. f. 45.

51. AGRIPPINA, daughter of Agrippa and Julia ; granddaughter to Augustus, and wife of Germanicus ; a woman of noble qualities, an exalted spirit, and unconquerable chastity. Elate with the pride of virtue, and conscious of her illustrious birth, she scorned to bend to the arrogance of Livia, the mother of Tiberius. She was banished to the isle of Pandataria, and, after suffering every barbarous outrage from the cruelty of Tiberius, died in misery A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 12. Annal. vi. f. 25. Annal. xiv. f. 63. See supplement to book v. of the Annals, f. 5.

For GERMANICUS, her husband, see No. 81.

52. JULIA, daughter of Agrippa and Julia ; sister to Agrippina, and grand-daughter to Augustus. She married Lucius Æmilius Paulus, and, in all kinds of excess and vicious debauchery, distinguished herself as the rival of her mother. In the reign of Augustus, she was condemned for her adulterous practices, and banished to the isle of Trimetus, A. U. 761. She died in exile A. U. 781.—Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 71.

53. LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULUS, son of Paulus Æmilius
Lepidus

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Lepidus and his wife Cornelia. The father was censor A. U. 732. Lucius the son married Julia, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia.—Suet. Life of Augustus, f. 64. Dio, book liv.

54. MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, son of Lucius Æmilius Lepidus and Julia the daughter of Agrippa. He married Drufilla, and committed adultery and incest with her sisters. His vices endeared him to Caligula. He was condemned for treasonable practices, and put to death A. U. 792. Caligula, upon that occasion, gave a donative to the soldiers, and dedicated to MARS THE AVENGER three swords, which had been prepared by the conspirators.—Dio, book lix. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 24 and 36. Tacit. Annal. xiv. f. 2.

55. ÆMILIA LEPIDA, the daughter of Lucius Æmilius Paulus and Julia, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, consequently grand-daughter to Augustus. She was contracted to Claudius, afterwards emperor, when he was extremely young; and afterwards married to Junius Silanus.—Suet. Life of Claud. f. 26. Pliny, book vii. f. 13.

56. JUNIUS SILANUS, the husband of the last-mentioned Æmilia Lepida. Nothing of him can be said with certainty; but it is probable that he was the Marcus Silanus who was joint consul with Lucius Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. 772.—Tacit. Annal. ii. f. 59.

57. MARCUS JUNIUS SILANUS, son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, born in the year in which Augustus died, A. U. 767.—Pliny, book vii. f. 13. He was a man of an unblemished character, but so inactive, that Caligula called him *The Golden Calf*.

Calf. He was proconsul of Asia, and, by Nero's order, taken off by poison, A. U. 807.—Tacit. Annal. xiii. f. 1.

58. THE wife of Marcus Junius Silanus, and the mother of Lucius Silanus Torquatus. The name is not to be found in any Historian.

59. LUCIUS SILANUS TORQUATUS, son of Marcus Junius Silanus, who was great-grandson to Augustus. Without being charged with any crime obnoxious only on account of his illustrious birth and the modesty of his youth, he was put to death by Nero, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xvi. f. 7, 8, 9.

60. LUCIUS JUNIUS SILANUS, son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida (see No. 55 and 56). The emperor Claudius had promised him his daughter Octavia in marriage, A. U. 794, but soon after broke off the match, and left Silanus to choose his mode of death, A. U. 802.—Dio, book lx. Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 3, 8.

61. JUNIUS SILANUS TORQUATUS, son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, who was great grand-daughter to Augustus. A pedigree derived from the Junian family, and rendered still more illustrious by his relation to Augustus, made him obnoxious to the jealousy of Nero. He died by that emperor's order, A. U. 817. Both he and Lucius Silanus Torquatus were cut off in the month of June, for which reason the name was changed to that of Germanicus.—Tacit. Annal. xv. f. 35. Annal. xvi. f. 8 and 12. Dio, book lxii.

62. JUNIA CALVINA, daughter of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida. She was married to Vitellius, who was afterwards

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

wards emperor. Distinguished by her beauty and illustrious birth, she preserved an unblemished character, but provoked her enemies by a fierce and uncomplying spirit. By the malice and insidious arts of Agrippina the younger, she was banished out of Italy, but recalled by Nero A. U. 812. She lived to the time of Vespasian.—Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 4 and 8. Annal. xiv. f. 12. Suet. Life of Vesp. f. 23.

63. VITELLIUS, son of Lucius Vitellius the cenfor and his wife Sextilia. He married Junia Calvina, and was consul A. U. 801. Upon some dissension between him and his wife, a divorce took place some time before A. U. 802.—Tacit. Annal. xi. f. 23. Annal. xii. f. 4. Suet. Life of Vitellius, f. 3 and 18.

64. LEPIDA, daughter of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida. She was married to Caius Cassius, governor of Syria. An accusation alleging various crimes was suborned against her, but referred to the judgment of Nero, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xvi. f. 8, 9.

65. CAIUS CASSIUS, governor of Syria, and husband of Lepida. He was celebrated for his superior knowledge of the laws; but being charged with having, among the images of his ancestors, the picture or statue of the famous CASSIUS, with an inscription, *To the Chief of Party*, he was banished to the island of Sardinia, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 11, 12. Annal. xvi. f. 8, 9.

66. LIVIA, called also LIVIA DRUSILLA, and, after the death of Augustus, JULIA AUGUSTA. She was the daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus. Her first husband was Tiberius Claudius Nero: being divorced from him, she married Augustus
A. U.

A. U. 716. A woman of illustrious birth; elegant in her form and manners; of high ambition, and an overbearing spirit. She had the skill to manage the gentle arts of Augustus, and the dark diffimulation of Tiberius; a complying and obliging wife, and afterwards an imperious mother. Her enmity to Germanicus and his wife Agrippina was subtle, close, and unrelenting. She died A. U. 782, at the age of 86.—Velleius Pat. book ii. f. 75. Suet. Life of Tiberius, f. 3 and 4. Dio, book xlviii. Tacit. Annal. book v. f. 1.

Her inscriptions on ancient medals: *Livia Augusta, Julia, Augusta, Mother of her Country.*

After her death: *The deified Livia, Wife of the deified Augustus, the deified Julia Augusta.*

67. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO, the first husband of Livia, and by her the father of Tiberius, afterwards emperor, and of Nero Claudius Drusus (for whom see No. 79). He obtained the dignities of prætor and pontiff; a man of brilliant talents and extensive learning. He attached himself to Anthony the triumvir; and after the defeat of that party, he withdrew with his wife Livia and Tiberius, then an infant about two years old, into Sicily A. U. 714. Livia fled from Augustus, her destined husband, and Tiberius from his future father by adoption. Tiberius Claudius Nero made his peace with Augustus, and resigned his wife A. U. 716. He died three years after, A. U. 719.—Vell. Pat. book ii. f. 75. Suet. Life of Tiberius, f. 4, 6. Dio, book xlvii.

68. TIBERIUS NERO, son of Tiberius Claudius Nero by Livia his wife, born 16th November, A. U. 712; adopted by

Augustus A. U. 757, and emperor of Rome A. U. 767. He died on the 17th of March A. U. 790, after a reign of three-and-twenty years. Julius Cæsar subdued his country; Augustus cherished the conquered; and Tiberius made them crouch in bondage. He established slavery, and despised the servile spirit of the men that submitted with passive obedience. He hated eminent virtue, and was at the same time the enemy of vice. Such jarring elements have been rarely mixed in the composition of one man: fluctuating between good and evil, and by turns inclined to each, he did every thing by fits and sudden starts of passion. Before he rose to the supreme power, he distinguished himself by his warlike spirit. When master of the Roman world, dissimulation was the prominent feature of his character. When he had waded far in guilt and flagitious deeds, he lay *on the torture of the mind in restless ecstasy*. Goaded by his conscience, and alarmed by constant suspicions, he fled from danger to the isle of Capreæ, but could not fly from himself. He was often heard to utter a most horrible wish, expressed in a Greek verse:

Εμὲ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

Me mortuo terra misceatur igni.

“At my death let the earth be involved in flames.” He called Priam the happiest of men, because his kingdom perished with him.—Vell. Pat. book ii. f. 75. Tacit. in the six first Annals, *passim*. Pliny, book xxviii. f. 2.

Inscriptions on ancient medals: *Tiberius Cæsar, Augustus Son of the deified Augustus, Imperator, Augur, Chief Pontiff, vested with the Tribunitian Power.*

69. VIPSANIA AGRIPPINA, daughter of Marcus Vipfanius Agrippa by his first wife Pomponia, who was the granddaughter of Atticus, to whom Cicero addressed the well-known collection of letters. Vipfania Agrippina was first married to Tiberius, the emperor, but by him unwillingly repudiated during her pregnancy, to make way for a match with Julia, the daughter of Augustus.—Tacit. Annal. book i. f. 12. Suet. Life of Tiberius, f. 7. Dio, book liv. After her divorce, she married Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio, the consul and celebrated orator, the favourite of Augustus, and, what is now of more consequence, celebrated by Horace and Virgil. Of all the children of Agrippa, she is the only one that died a natural death, A. U. 773. Tacit. Annal. book iii. f. 19.

For ASINIUS GALLUS, see Tacit. Annal. book i. f. 8.

70. DRUSUS CÆSAR, son of Tiberius by Vipfania Agrippina, who was repudiated in her pregnancy. He was born A. U. 739; a youth of a towering spirit, impatient of an equal, addicted to liquor, and in that vice the rival of his father. He married Livia, otherwise called Livilla, who was debauched by Sejanus, and drawn into a plot against her husband's life. Drusus had been three times consul, and was every day rising to eminence in the state, when Sejanus put an end to his days by poison, A. U. 776.—Tacit. Annal. book i. f. 55; book iii. f. 56; book iv. f. 3 and 8. Pliny, book xiv. f. 22.

Inscriptions on ancient medals: *Drusus Cæsar Son of Tiberius, Grandson to the deified Augustus, Pontiff, Consul, vested with Tribunitian Power.*

71. LIVIA, or LIVILLA, daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus
3 I 2 (see

(see No. 79) by his wife Antonia the younger (see No. 42). She was sister to Germanicus, and also Claudius the emperor. Her first husband was Caius, the son of Agrippa: after his death she married Drusus, the son of Tiberius. Sejanus seduced her affections from her husband. Engaged in a course of adultery with that flagitious minister, she hoped to rise with her paramour to the imperial dignity, and with that ambitious view conspired against her husband. Her guilt being afterwards fully detected, she was put to death by order of Tiberius (see Supplement to Annals, book v. f. 38, 39); and by a decree of the senate, her pictures and statues were all destroyed, and her memory branded with infamy.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 1. Life of Tiberius, f. 62. Tacit. Annal. book iv. f. 3 and 40; book vi. f. 2. Dio, book lviii.

72. TIBERIUS, son of Drusus Cæsar (see No. 70) and Livilla (No. 71), grandson to Tiberius the emperor, born with a twin-brother A. U. 772. Tiberius was so elated with joy on that occasion, that he boasted of the birth of twins, as an event which had never happened to any Roman of equal rank. Caligula deprived him of the succession and his life, A. U. 790.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. f. 84. Dio, book lix.

73. THE twin-brother of Tiberius (No. 72), the son of Drusus and Livia, or Livilla, died when about four years old, A. U. 776.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. f. 84; book iv. f. 15. His name is nowhere mentioned.

74. JULIA, daughter of Drusus Cæsar (No. 70) and Livia (No. 71), married first to Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, and afterwards to Rubellius Blandus. She was cut off by the malice of Messalina A. U. 796.—Tacit. Annal. book iii. f. 29; book vi. f. 27; book xiii. f. 19 and 32. Dio, book lx.

For

For NERO CÆSAR, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, the husband of Julia, see No. 82.

75. RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, son of a Roman knight, and the second husband of Julia, the daughter of Drusus (see No. 70). He was married to her A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. book vi. f. 27. Dio, book lviii.

76. RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS, son of Rubellius Blandus and his wife Julia. The popular voice marked him out a proper person to succeed to the imperial dignity, and for that reason he was put to death by Nero A. U. 815.—Tacit. Annal. book xiii. f. 19; book xiv. f. 22 and 58.

77. ANTISTIA POLLUTIA, daughter of Lucius Antistius Vetus, and wife of Rubellius Plautus (No. 76). She was put to death with her father and Sextia, her mother-in-law, A. U. 818. Her crime was, that, while she lived, Nero considered her and her family as a living reproach for the murder of her husband Rubellius Plautus.—Tacit. Annal. book xvi. f. 10 and 11.

78. A SON of Tiberius the emperor by Julia, the daughter of Augustus (see No. 46). He was born at Aquileia, and died in his infancy A. U. 747. His name is nowhere mentioned.—Suet. Life of Tiberius, f. 7. Dio, book lv.

79. NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS, son of Tiberius Claudius Nero (see No. 67) and Livia, afterwards married to Augustus. Tiberius the emperor was his elder brother. He was born A. U. 716. A youth, says Velleius Paterculus, of as many virtues as prudence can acquire, or human nature can admit. The fine ode of Horace, *Qualem Ministrum fulminis alitem*, book iv. ode 4, written

written in the year of Rome 743, displays his military character in the brightest colours. He rose to the highest civil offices, such as prætor, ædile, and consul. He commanded the Roman army in Germany, and for his victories obtained the name of GERMANICUS. He was father of the famous Germanicus by Antonia the younger (see No. 42). He died A.U. 745; the pride of the Claudian family, and the favourite of the Roman people. Augustus spoke his funeral panegyric, and in his speech offered up a fervent prayer to the gods, that all future Cæsars might resemble him, and that his own death, whenever it should happen, might be equally honourable and as sincerely lamented.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 1. Life of Tiberius, f. 4. Dio, book iv. Valerius Maximus, book iv. f. 3, No. 3.

Inscription on ancient coins : *Nero Claudius Drusus, Germanicus, Imperator.*

For ANTONIA the younger, the wife of Drusus, see No. 42.

80. SONS of Drusus and Antonia. They died before A. U. 745, and their names are now unknown.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 1.

81. GERMANICUS CÆSAR, son of Nero Claudius Drusus (No. 79) by Antonia the younger (No. 42), the worthiest son of the worthiest parents. Tiberius, by the command of Augustus, adopted him A. U. 757, but afterwards, when possessed of the supreme power, beheld him with a malignant eye. He died on his return from a tour in Ægypt, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned by the contrivance of Livia, the mother of Tiberius, and the villany of Piso and Plancina, A. U. 772, in the thirty-first year of his age. The funeral ceremony was performed

formed at Antioch. Germanicus succeeded to his father in the affections of the Roman people. Of gentle manners, mild and gracious to all, he was beheld with pleasure, and heard with applause. Ambition, if we except the fair desire of being distinguished by his virtues, had no influence on his conduct. Undebauched by pleasure, he discharged all the duties of an upright citizen and an able officer. He commanded the Roman legions in Germany; in war victorious, and in peace moderate to the vanquished. Possessed of great accomplishments, he was in nothing inferior to Alexander, and free from the vices of that warlike chief. He was on the side of virtue greatly his superior. Rome deplored his death, and with him lost all hopes of seeing the old constitution restored. Foreign nations paid their tribute of respect to his memory.—Tacit. Annal. book i. f. 3, 33, 34, 42, &c.; book ii. f. 72, 73. Dio, book lv.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: *Germanicus Cæsar, Son of Tiberius Augustus, Grandson to the deified Augustus, Consul.*

After his death, in the reign of his son Caligula: *Germanicus Cæsar, Father of Cæsar Augustus, the deified Germanicus.*

For AGRIPPINA, his wife, see No. 51.

82. NERO CÆSAR, son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He married Julia, daughter of Drusus the son of Tiberius (see No. 70), A. U. 773. By the wicked arts of Sejanus he was banished to the isle of Pontia, and there put to death A. U. 784.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. f. 59, 60; book v. f. 3, 4. Suet. Life of Tiberius, f. 54. Dio, book lviii.

For JULIA, the wife of Nero Cæsar, see No. 74.

83. DRUSUS

83. DRUSUS CÆSAR, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, brother to Nero Cæsar and Caligula, afterwards emperor. He married Æmilia Lepida, who was induced by Sejanus to betray her husband. Deluded himself by the arts of that evil minister, he conspired against the life of his brother, Nero Cæsar. He was imprisoned at Rome by order of Tiberius, and died in confinement A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. f. 60; book vi. f. 23, 24. Dio, book lviii.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: *Nero Cæsar, Drusus Cæsar, Duumviri.*

84. ÆMILIA LEPIDA, daughter of Manius Lepidus, and wife of Drusus Cæsar (No. 83). She was engaged in an adulterous commerce with Sejanus, and suborned by that ambitious upstart to carry a clandestine charge against her husband to the ear of Tiberius. Notwithstanding her crimes, she was protected during her father's life; but being afterwards prosecuted by the race of informers, she put an end to her days A. U. 789.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. f. 20; book vi. f. 27, 40.

85. CAIUS CÆSAR, son of Germanicus and Agrippina; a youth of engaging manners, and a promising disposition. He died prematurely in the bloom of life, much regretted by Augustus.—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 7 and 8.

86. CAIUS CÆSAR, better known by the name of CALIGULA, fourth emperor of Rome, the son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He was born at Antium 31st August, in the consulship of Germanicus and Fonteius Capito, A. U. 765. He practised the arts of dissimulation during the life of Tiberius, and had the skill to conceal his real character. Having obtained the sovereign power,

power, he threw off the mask, and shewed himself a monster of vice and cruelty. He wished with impious arrogance to be worshipped as a god, and was at the same time a tyrant of savage ferocity, the scourge of human kind. His delight in blood was so keen and ardent, that he was often heard to express his wish, *that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might at a blow destroy the whole race.* He dissipated in less than a year the whole treasure left by Tiberius, computed to be an immense sum. Nor can this be wondered at in a man who spent for one dinner a hundred thousand sesterces. Costly and effeminate in his dress, he was so extravagant as to appear in shoes composed of pearl. He was slain by Cassius Cherea, tribune of a prætorian cohort, on the fourth day of the Palatine games, A. U. 794; a man, says Seneca, designed by nature to shew what the worst vices can do in the height of power.—Seneca de Consolat. c. ix. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 8, 37, 58. Pliny, book vii. f. 8; book xxxvii. f. 2. Tacit. Annal. book vi. f. 20.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: *Caius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, Son of Tiberius Augustus, Grandson to Augustus, Great-Grandson to the deified Augustus, Caius Cæsar, a God and Emperor.*

As adopted son of Tiberius, he was grandson to Augustus; as the son of Germanicus, he was great-grandson.

87. CLAUDIA, daughter of M. Silanus, married to Caligula A. U. 786. She died in child-bed. Suetonius calls her JUNIA CLAUDILLA.—Tacit. Annal. book vi. f. 20. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 12.

88. LIVIA ORESTILLA; called by Dio, CORNELIA ORESTINA.

TINA. She was on the point of marrying Caius Calpurnius Piso, when Caligula, enamoured of her beauty, carried off by force, and in a few days after repudiated her.—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 25. Dio, book lix.

89. LOELIA PAULINA, grand-daughter of Marcus Lollius, who was tutor to Caius Cæsar, the son of Agrippa (No. 48), and drew on himself a load of disgrace and obloquy on account of the prodigious presents, which he received with a rapacious hand from the oriental princes. His daughter Lollia Paulina was married to Caligula. The emperor ravished her from Caius Memmius Regulus, and in a short time after dismissed her from his embraces. Pliny assures us, that he saw her, not at a time of public festivity, but at a moderate entertainment, placed at the banqueting-table, in a dress overcharged with jewels and pearls, artfully intermixed and blended, tangled in her hair, shining on her head, at her ears, round her neck, with rich bracelets on her arms, and her fingers loaded with rings; the whole of this laboured magnificence was not worth less than four hundred thousand sesterces. Pliny adds, that this enormous display was not a present from the emperor, but all of it the wealth of her grand-father Marcus Lollius, accumulated from the spoil of plundered provinces.—Pliny, book ix. cap. 35, f. 57. Suet. Life of Caligula, 25. Dio, book lix.

90. MILONIA CÆSONIA, daughter of Vestilia, whom Caligula married when she was advanced in her pregnancy, A. U. 792. In thirty days after she was delivered of her child. She was the wife of the worst of men, and her own vices made her worthy of such a connexion. Caligula was killed A. U. 794; and in a few days after Cherea, who dispatched the tyrant, ordered Cæsonia and her daughter to be put to death, that no remains

remains of the tyrant's family should be suffered to exist. She died with a degree of fortitude that would have done honour to a better character.—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 25, 59. Dio, book lix. Pliny, book vii. f. 5.

91. JULIA DRUSILLA, daughter of Caligula and Milonia Cæsonia. Her frantic father carried her to the temples of all the goddesses, and dedicated her to Minerva, as to the patroness of her education. She discovered in her infancy strong indications of the cruelty that branded both her parents. She suffered death with her mother (see No. 90).—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 25 and 59. Dio, book lix.

92. Two sons of Germanicus and Agrippina, who died in their infancy. Their names not recorded.—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 7 and 8.

93. AGRIPPINA, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, born A. U. 769. She was married three times; first, to Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, A. U. 781; secondly, to Passienus Crispus; thirdly, to the emperor Claudius, A. U. 801. She was a woman of violent passions, unbounded ambition, and at the same time distinguished by her literary accomplishments. By Ænobarbus, her first husband, she was the mother of Nero, whose name is now another word for the most savage cruelty. Nero was born A. U. 790 (No. 35). By that execrable parricide Agrippina was barbarously murdered A. U. 812.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. f. 54; book iv. f. 53; book xii. f. 64; book xiv. f. 6, 7, 8. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 7. Dio, book lx.

For CNEIUS DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, her first husband, and the father of Nero, see No. 34.

94. PASSIENUS CRISPUS, a celebrated orator, and twice consul. He was first married to Domitia (see No. 40), and secondly to Agrippina. A shrewd saying of his concerning Caligula is well known: *There never was a better slave, nor a worse master.* Upon other occasions he was used to observe, "*We all oppose the door to flattery, but none of us shut it.*"—Pliny, book xvi. c. 44, f. 91. Tacit. Annal. book vi. f. 20. Seneca, Quæst. Natural. book iv. Preface.

For CLAUDIUS, the third husband of Agrippina, see No. 100.

95. DRUSILLA, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, born A. U. 770. She was first married to Lucius Cassius Longinus A. U. 786, and afterwards to Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Caligula, her brother, had an incestuous intrigue with her; and after her death, which happened A. U. 791, he canonized her for a goddess by the name of PANTHEA. On that occasion Livius Geminius declared on his oath, that he had seen her in her ascent to heaven. For this extraordinary testimony he was amply rewarded by Caligula.—Tacit. Annal. vi. f. 15. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 7 and 24. Dio, book lix.

On ancient coins: *Drusilla Augusta.*

96. LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, married to Drusilla (No. 95). He was raised to the consulship A. U. 783, and afterwards stood forth the accuser of Drusus, his wife's brother (see No. 83).—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 24. Tacit. Annal. vi. f. 15. Dio, book lviii.

For MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, the second husband of Drusilla, see No. 54.

97. JULIA,

97. JULIA, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, called by Suetonius LIVILLA. She was born A. U. 771. Caligula, on account of her debaucheries, ordered her to be conveyed to the isle of Pontia, A. U. 792. She was recalled in the reign of Claudius; but Messalina, without any crime alleged, contrived to drive her into banishment, and afterwards put her to death, A. U. 796.—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 7 and 24. Life of Claudius, f. 29. Dio, book lix.

98. QUINCTILIUS VARUS, son of Claudia Pulchra, who was cousin to Agrippina. He married Julia (No. 97). An accusation was framed against him by Domitius Afer and Dolabella, A. U. 780.—Seneca, Controv. book i. f. 3. Tacit. Annal. iv. f. 52 and 66.

99. MARCUS VINICIUS. He married Julia (No. 97) A. U. 786; was twice consul, but, by a wicked stratagem of Messalina, was destroyed by poison A. U. 799. It was to this man, in the year of his consulship, that Velleius Paterculus dedicated his elegant compendium of the Roman History; a work admired for the beauty of the style, but debased by the fulsome praise of Tiberius and Sejanus.—Tacit. Annal. vi. f. 15. See Supplement to Annals, v. f. 11. Dio, book lx.

100. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS GERMANICUS, fifth emperor of Rome. He was son to Nero Claudius Drusus (No. 79) and Antonia the younger (No. 42); he was brother to Germanicus; born at Lyons (*Lugduni*) A. U. 744. He discovered in the first dawn of infancy a degree of dulness that bordered on stupidity. He grew up so sluggish in body and mind, that Antonia his mother often declared that he was an imperfect production, sent into the world unfinished by the hand of Nature.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Nature. He succeeded to the supreme power A. U. 794, during the whole of his reign governed altogether by his wives or his freedmen. He was poisoned by the contrivance of Agrippina his wife, and died on the 13th of October, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, A. U. 807. After his death he was numbered among the gods. His deification was treated with contempt and ridicule by Seneca, in a tract still extant, entitled, *Claudii Cæsari Apocolokintosis*. The general design of the piece is not ill imagined; but the humour is often coarse, and, upon the whole, inferior to what might have been expected from the lively genius of that entertaining writer. Claudius, with all the appearance of inert faculties and an impassive mind, devoted his time, in repose and indolence, to literature and the polite arts. He was not entirely void of taste. His compositions in Greek, as well as Latin, were written with purity and even elegance. Two pieces of a brass table have been found at Lyons, on which is engraved a speech of Claudius, in characters so plainly legible, that Dotteville (in his edition of Tacitus) has given an exact copy, faithfully compared with the original (see at the end of his Notes to Annals, book xii.).—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 2, 10, 41, 42. Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 69. Seneca, APOCOLOKINTOSIS. Pliny, book xxxvi. c. 15, f. 24.

101. PLAUTIA URGULANILLA, daughter of Aulus Plautius, who had enjoyed the splendour of a triumph. She was the first wife of the emperor Claudius, and by him repudiated on account of her licentious manners, and a suspicion of homicide that blackened her character.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26. Dio, book lx.

102. DRUSUS, son of the emperor Claudius and Urgulanilla. A match between him and the daughter of Sejanus was projected

by

by that ambitious favourite A. U. 773 ; but Drusus, as yet of tender years, lost his life by an accident. A pear, which in a playful manner he had tossed up in the air, fell into his mouth and choked him.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 27. Tacit. Annal. iii. f. 29.

103. CLAUDIA, daughter of Urgulanilla. She was born in less than five months after her mother's divorce from Claudius ; and yet the emperor thought proper to disown her as his child, alleging that she was begot by one of his freedmen, and as such, he ordered her to be left naked at her mother's door.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 27.

104. ÆLIA PETINA, daughter of Quintus Ælius Tubero, who was consul A. U. 743. She was the second wife of Claudius, but on some frivolous occasion soon repudiated.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26.

105. ANTONIA, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Ælia Petina. Claudius gave her away in marriage to Cneius Pompeius (see No. 106), and afterwards to Cornelius Sylla (see No. 107). Nero, after the death of Poppæa, proposed to marry her ; and his offer being rejected, he condemned her to suffer death, on a pretended charge of plotting against the state.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 27. Life of Nero, f. 35. Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 68.

106. CNEIUS POMPEIUS, a youth of noble descent, married to Antonia (No. 105) A. U. 794. He was some time after put to death by order of Claudius.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 27, and 29.

107. FAUSTUS:

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

107. FAUSTUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, of illustrious birth, the second husband of Antonia (No. 105). He was banished by Nero into Narbon Gaul, and there put to death by assassins dispatched from Rome, A. U. 815.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 27. Tacit. Annal. xiii. f. 23 ; xiv. f. 57.

For MESSALINA, the third wife of Claudius, see No. 26.

108. BRITANNICUS, son of Claudius and Messalina, born 12th of February, A. U. 794. By his birth, and his father's intention, who carried him in his arms and recommended him as heir apparent to the affections of the army, he was next in succession to the sovereignty ; but by the artful policy of Agrippina, the fourth wife of Claudius, he was postponed to Nero, and afterwards destroyed by poison, in the fourteenth year of his age, A. U. C. 808.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 27. Tacit. Annal. xii. f. 25 ; xiii. f. 15 and 16.

For OCTAVIA, the sister of Britannicus, see No. 36.

For AGRIPPINA, the mother of Nero by Domitius Ænobarbus, and afterwards the wife of Claudius, see No. 93.

I N D E X

T O T H E

G E N E A L O G I C A L T A B L E

O F

T H E C Æ S A R S.

	No.
A GRIPPA, see Vipfanius Agrippa.	
Agrippa Pofthumus — — —	50
Agrippina, fee Vipfania Agrippina.	
Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa and wife of Germanicus —	51
Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero —	93
Antiftia Pollutia, wife of Rubellius Plautus — —	77
Antonia the elder, daughter of Octavia and Anthony the triumvir — — —	32
Antonia the younger, fifter of Antonia the elder, and wife of Nero Claudius Drufus — — —	42
Antonia, daughter of the emperor Claudius — —	105
Antonius, fon of Julius Antonius — —	30
Anthony the triumvir, hufband of Octavia — —	31
Antonius (M. Julius), hufband of Marcella the younger —	29
Appius Junius Silanus, hufband of Domitia Lepida —	25
Vol. II. 3 L	Apuleia.

	No.
Apuleia Varilia, daughter of Marcella the elder	— 32
Apuleius, husband of Marcella the elder	— 21
Atia, wife of Caius Octavius	— 14
Atius Balbus, husband of Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar	— 13
Augustus, see Octavius Augustus.	
Aurelia, mother of Cæsar the dictator	— — 2

B.

Balbus, see Atius Balbus.	
Blandus, see Rubellius Blandus.	
Britannicus, son of the emperor Claudius	— — 108

C.

Cæsonia, see Milonia Cæsonia.			
Caius Cæsar, son of Agrippa	—	—	48
Caius Cæsar, son of Germanicus	—	—	85
Caius Caligula, emperor of Rome	—	—	86
Caius Cassius, husband of Lepida	—	—	65
Calpurnia, wife of Cæsar the dictator	—	—	11
Calvina, see Junia Calvina.			
Cassius Longinus, husband of Drusilla	—	—	96
Claudia, daughter of the emperor Claudius	—	—	103
Claudia, daughter of Nero the emperor	—	—	38
Claudia, wife of Caligula	—	—	87
Claudius, emperor, see Tiberius Claudius.			
Claudius Marcellus, husband of Octavia	—	—	17
Clodia, wife of Augustus	—	—	38
Cornelia, wife of Julius Cæsar	—	—	5
Cornelius Sylla, husband of Antonia	—	—	107
Cossutia, wife of Julius Cæsar	—	—	4

D.

Domitia, daughter of Domitius Ænobarbus	—	40
Domitia Lepida, mother of Messalina	—	25
		Domitius

		No.
Domitius Ænobarbus, father of Nero	— —	34
Domitius Lucius Ænobarbus, husband of Antonia the elder		33
Domitius Nero, emperor of Rome	— —	35
Drufilla, daughter of Germanicus	— —	95
Drufilla, daughter of Caligula, see Julia Drufilla.		
Drufus, brother of Tiberius, emperor, see Nero Drufus Claudius.		
Drufus, son of Claudius, emperor	— —	102
Drufus Cæsar, son of Tiberius, emperor	— —	70
Drufus Cæsar, son of Germanicus	— —	83
Daughter of Pompey the Great	— —	9

Æ.

Ælia Petina, daughter of Claudius, emperor	—	104
Æmilia Lepida, wife of Drufus Cæsar	— —	84
Æmilia Lepida, wife of Junius Silanus	— —	55
Æmilius Paulus, husband of Julia, the daughter of Tiberius,		
emperor	— — — —	53
Æmilius Lepidus, husband of Drufilla	— —	54

G.

Germanicus Cæsar, son of Nero Claudius Drufus	—	79
---	---	----

J.

Julia, sister of Cæsar the dictator	— —	12
Julia, daughter of Cæsar the dictator	— —	6
Julia, daughter of Augustus	— —	46
Julia, daughter of Agrippa	— — —	52
Julia, daughter of Drufus Cæsar	— —	74
Julia Drufilla, daughter of Caligula	— —	91
Julius Cæsar, father of Cæsar the dictator	— —	1
Julius Cæsar, the dictator	— —	3
Julius Antonius, husband of Marcella the younger	—	29
Junia Calvina, wife of Vitellius	— —	62

		No.
Junius Silanus, husband of Æmilia Lepida	—	56
Junius Silanus, son of Junius Silanus	—	57
Junius Silanus Torquatus, son of Junius Silanus	—	61

L.

Lepida, see Æmilia Lepida.

Lepida, see Domitia Lepida.

Lepida, the wife of Cassius — 64

Livia, wife of Augustus — 66

Livia, wife of Caius Cæsar and Drusus Cæsar — 71

Livia Orestilla, wife of Caligula — 88

Lollia Paulina, wife of Caligula — 89

Lucius Cæsar, son of Agrippa — 49

M.

Marcella the elder, sister of M. Marcellus — 26

Marcella the younger, sister of M. Marcellus — 27

Marcellus, see Claudius Marcellus.

Marcus Marcellus, son of Octavia — 18

Messala, see Valerius Messala.

Messala, see Valerius Messala Barbatus.

Messalina, see Statilia Messalina.

Messalina, see Valeria Messalina.

Milonia Cæsonia, wife of Caligula — 90

N.

Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus — 82

Nero, emperor of Rome, see Domitius Nero.

Nero, see Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius the emperor.

Nero, Claudius Drusus, brother of Tiberius, emperor of Rome — 79

Octavia,

O.

		No.
Octavia, sister of Augustus	—	16
Octavia, daughter of Claudius, emperor	—	36
Octavius, father of Augustus	—	15
Octavius Augustus, emperor	—	43
Orestilla, see Livia Orestilla.		

P.

Paffienus Crispus, husband of Agrippina	—	93
Paulina, see Lolliæ Paulina.		
Petina, see Ælia Petina.		
Plautia Urgulanilla, wife of Claudius, emperor	—	101
Plautus, see Rubellius Plautus.		
Pollutia, see Antistia Pollutia.		
Pompeia, wife of Julius Cæsar	—	18
Pompeia, wife of Marcellus	—	19
Pompeius Magnus, husband of Julia	—	7
Pompeius, husband of Antonia	—	106
Poppæa Sabina, wife of Nero	—	37
Posthumus, see Agrippa Posthumus.		

R.

Rubellius Blandus, husband of Julia	—	75
Rubellius Plautus, son of Rubellius Blandus	—	76

S.

Sabina, see Poppæa Sabina.		
Scribonia, wife of Augustus	—	45
Silanus, see Appius Junius Silanus.		
Silanus, see Junius Silanus.		
Silanus, see Lucius Junius Silanus.		
Silanus, see Marcus Junius Silanus.		
Silanus, see Junius Silanus Torquatus.		

	No.
Silanus Torquatus, nephew to Junius Torquatus	— 59
Statilia Messalina, wife of Nero	— 39
Sylla, see Cornelius Sylla.	
Son of Drusus Cæsar	— 73
Son of Pompey the Great	— 8
Son of Tiberius, emperor	} <i>All died young, their names not known</i> 78
Sons of Agrippa	
Sons of Germanicus	

T.

Tiberius, emperor of Rome	— 68
Tiberius, grandson of Tiberius, emperor	— 72
Tiberius Claudius, emperor	— 105
Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius	— 67
Torquatus, see Junius Silanus Torquatus.	
Torquatus, see Lucius Silanus Torquatus.	

V.

Valeria Messalina, wife of Claudius, emperor	— 26
Valerius Messala, husband of Marcella the elder	— 23
Valerius Messala Barbatus, husband of Domitia Lepida	— 24
Varus, husband of Julia, the daughter of Germanicus	— 98
Vinicius, husband of Julia, daughter of Germanicus	— 99
Vipsania Agrippina, wife of Tiberius, emperor	— 69
Vipsanius Agrippa, husband of Julia, daughter of Augustus	47
Vitellius, husband of Julia Calvina	— 63
Urgulanilla, see Plautia Urgulanilla.	

W.

Wife of Marcus Junius Silanus ; her name unknown	— 58
--	------

N O T E S

O N T H E

S I X L A S T B O O K S

O F

T H E A N N A L S.

N O T E S

ON THE

ELEVENTH BOOK

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

THE former part of this book, comprising no less than six years, is lost, with other parts of Tacitus. Claudius succeeded to Caligula, who was put to death by Chærea and other conspirators, on the 24th of January, A. U. C. 794. The present book begins abruptly in the year of Rome 800, when Claudius had reigned six years. The very first sentence is imperfect. The historian, beyond all doubt, had been speaking of Messalina and Poppæa Sabina, but neither of them is mentioned in the mutilated text. To avoid beginning with a broken passage, the translator has added their names, and the sense will now be found complete. Valerius Asiaticus had been consul twice; the first time, for some months, to supply the place of the consuls who began the year A. U. C. 796; the second time, in conjunction with Marcus Junius Silanus, A. U. C. 799. Suetonius, in Claud. f. 14.

(a) Suius has been already mentioned, Annals, book iv. f. 31; and for the infamy of his character, see book xiii. f. 42.

(b) In the tumult occasioned by the death of Caligula, when the people were wild with contending passions, and the prætorian guards paraded the streets denouncing vengeance against the conspirators, Valerius Asiaticus (according to Josephus) rushed forward to meet them,

proclaiming aloud, "I wish the tyrant had fallen by my hand." See Seneca, *De Constantiâ*, cap. 18.

(c) Formerly the capital of the Allobroges; now Vienne in Dauphiné.

Section II.

(a) This was agreeable to the Roman manners. What man is ashamed, says Cornelius Nepos, to take his wife with him to a convivial meeting? *Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium?* Corn. Nep. in *Præfatione*.

Section V.

(a) Marcus Cincius, tribune of the people, was the author of the *Cincian Law*, so called after his name, in the consulship of Sempronius and Cethegus, A. U. C. 550. It provided against the receipt of gifts and presents, but, in a course of time, fell into disuse, till Augustus, A. U. 732, thought fit to revive it, with an additional clause, by which the advocate, who pleaded for hire, was condemned to pay four times the sum. Claudius (as may be seen f. vii.) softened the rigour of the law, allowing a certain fee, and ordaining, that whoever took more should be obliged to make restitution.

Section VIII.

(a) Mithridates, brother to Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was appointed by Tiberius to sway the sceptre of Armenia, A. U. C. 788. See *Annals*, book vi. f. 32. He was afterwards brought to Rome in chains, and thrown into prison by Caligula, A. U. 793. Tacitus says, he had given an account of this transaction; but the history of Caligula is unfortunately lost.

(b) For Seleucia, see the Geographical Table.

(c) The river here intended is the Tigris. See Geographical Table.

(d) For the Dahæ and Hyrcani, see the Geographical Table.

Section IX.

(a) This is the same Cotys who has been already mentioned, as king of part of Thrace. See *Annals*, book iv. f. 67; and see the note.
Caligula

ELEVENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 451

Caligula added his division of that country to the dominions of Rhæ-metalces, and made Cotys king of the lesser Armenia, A. U. C. 791.

Section X.

(a) For the river Erinde and Sinden, see the Geographical Table.

Section XI.

(a) The secular games were exhibited by Augustus, in the consulship of Caius Furnius and C. Silanus, A. U. C. 737. The famous *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace has made them universally known. In their first institution they were to be celebrated at the end of every century; but that regulation, as we learn from Horace, was changed to every hundred and ten years.

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis, ut cantus referatque ludos
Ter die clarâ, totiesque gratâ
Nocte frequentes.

The first secular games were in the consulship of Valerius and Virginius, A. U. C. 298.

The second, in the consulship of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Pætilius, A. U. C. 408.

The third, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Varus, A. U. C. 518.

The fourth, in the consulship of Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Aurelius, A. U. C. 628.

The fifth, by Augustus, as above mentioned, 737.

The sixth, by Claudius, A. U. C. 800.

Tacitus says, Claudius differed from the computation of Augustus; and for an explanation of that matter he refers us to the history of Domitian, who also gave the secular games, A. U. C. 841. But the history of Domitian has not reached posterity. That monster has escaped the vengeance due to his crimes from the pen of Tacitus. The difference between the calculation of Augustus and that of Claudius appears to be a fallacy of the latter emperor. Suetonius says, he exhibited the secular games, under a pretence of their having been an-

anticipated by Augustus; and yet Claudius, in his history, fairly owns, *that they had been neglected before the time of Augustus; but that emperor made an exact calculation of the time, and again brought the games to their regular order.* For this reason, when the cryer, by order of Claudius, invited the people, in the usual form, *to games, which no one had ever seen, and would never see again,* the people could not refrain from laughing, as many then living had seen them in the time of Augustus, and some of the players, who had acted on that occasion, were now brought upon the stage again. Suet. in Claud. f. 21.

(b) The *Trojan Game*, commonly ascribed to Æneas, is beautifully described by Virgil, *Æneid* v. ver. 545. Suetonius says it was exhibited by Julius Cæsar, when two companies, one consisting of grown up lads, and the other of boys of a lesser size, displayed their skill in horsemanship. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. f. 39. This may account for the appearance of Britannicus and Domitius Nero, both at that time extremely young. Britannicus was born A. U. C. 794; Nero in the year 790. See the Genealogical Table, No. 108 and No. 35.

(c) Suetonius explains the origin of this fable. He says, there was a report, that certain assassins were hired by Messalina to strangle Nero in his bed, in order to remove the rival of Britannicus. The men went to execute their purpose, but were frightened by a serpent that crept from under his pillow. This tale was occasioned by the finding of a serpent's skin near Nero's pillow, which, by his mother's order, he wore for some time upon his right arm, inclosed in a golden bracelet. Suetonius, in Neron. f. 6.

Section XII.

(a) Silius was consul elect, as already mentioned in this book, f. 5. Juvenal says,

————— Elige quidnam
Suadendum esse putes, cui nubere Cæsar's uxor
Destinat. Optimus hic, et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciæ, rapitur miser extinguendus
Messalinæ oculis.

SAT. X. ver. 331.

Now

ELEVENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 453

Now Silius wants thy counsel; give advice;
Wed Cæsar's wife, or die. The choice is nice.
Her comet-eyes she darts on ev'ry grace,
And takes a fatal liking to his face.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XIII.

(a) Pomponius had been consul, but not in the beginning of the year, and therefore his name does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*. Quintilian praises his dramatic genius, and admires his tragedies. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xiii. note (c).

(b) The *Simbruine Hills*, according to Brotier and other commentators, are the hills that overlook the town, formerly called *Sublaqueum*, now *Subjaco*, about forty miles from Rome, towards the east, and not far from the *Sacred Cave*, now *Il Monastero del Sacro Speco*. The waters issuing from two fountains, known by the names of *Curtius* and *Cæruleus*, were, by the direction of Claudius, brought to Rome in canals made with great labour and vast expence. See Pliny's Description, lib. xxxvi. f. 15.

Section XIV.

(a) The invention of letters, one of the happiest exertions of the human mind, presents a subject of so curious and complicated a nature, that the discussion of it cannot be condensed into a note. Plato and Cicero were so struck with the wonderful artifice of alphabetical characters, as to conclude that it was not of human invention, but a preternatural gift of the immortal gods. Dr. Warburton has given a dissertation on the subject, in which profound learning and sound philosophy are happily united. After him, it may be stated, that man, being formed for society, soon found two ways of communicating his thoughts; namely, by sounds and significant action. But both were transient. Something permanent was still required; something, by which the conceptions of the mind might be preserved and communicated at a distance. This was done by the images of things, properly called picture writing. Sensible objects were easily represented, but abstract ideas demanded further improvement. That
difficulty

difficulty was also conquered. Men conversant in matter wanted sensible images to convey the ideas formed by the operations of the understanding. For that purpose, every object, in which could be found any kind of resemblance or analogy, was introduced to represent the inward sentiment: as an EYE, for knowledge; a CIRCLE, for eternity. This was the symbolic writing of the Ægyptians, who attended chiefly to the animal creation, and thereby established the *brute-worship* of their country. The several animals and symbolic figures being carved on pyramids and obelisks, by direction of the sacerdotal order, the art of expressing ideas by analogous representation was deemed sacred, and thence called HIEROGLYPHIC. It had, at first, nothing in it of mystery: it was dictated by the necessities of man in social life. The Chinese in the east had their hieroglyphics. Picture-writing was known to the Mexicans, in a world then undiscovered; and, accordingly, ACOSTA tells us, that the first account of a Spanish fleet on the coast, was sent to Montezuma in delineations painted on cloth. The same writer adds, things that had a bodily shape, were represented by their proper figures; and those that were invisible, by other expressive characters; and thus the Mexicans wrote or painted every thing they had occasion to express. The Peruvians made use of arbitrary marks. With their knotted cords of different colours, and various sizes, they contrived to convey their thoughts to one another. The Chinese proceeded from their hieroglyphics to the invention of a significant mark for every idea. It is a mistake to say that they formed an alphabet, or letters to be the sign of simple sounds. Their characters do not stand for syllables, of which articulate words are composed; they express the idea, or the object itself; and it is said that they have no less than seventy thousand of such arbitrary characters. The confusion that must follow is obvious. Signs for WORDS, not THINGS, were still the grand desideratum. Some happy genius (who, it is not known) arose in Ægypt. He had the sagacity to observe the formation of sounds by the human organs, and soon perceived that several were frequently united to constitute a word. By compounding these, and fixing a mark for vowels and consonants, which might be afterwards blended and varied as the word required, the art of writing was reduced to simplicity,

ELEVENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 455.

plicity, and finally established in its present form. Moses brought alphabetic letters, with the rest of his learning, from Ægypt, and was, therefore, able to reduce his books to writing. Cadmus was of Thebes in Ægypt, and passed from Phœnicia into Greece. His native country shews whence he derived his alphabet; though the Phœnicians were, by vulgar error, said to be the people who invented letters, and first taught the art of *stopping the flying sound*.

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Manfuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

LUCAN, lib. iii. ver. 220.

Pliny the elder gives the honour to the Assyrians: he says, *Literas semper arbitror fuisse Assyrias*. Lib. vii. f. 56. It is plain, however, that he was not rightly informed. See Warburton's Divine Legation, vol. iii. page 66, &c.; and see Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxxii. page 212.

(b) Dr. Warburton says, the Hebrew alphabet, which Moses employed in the composition of the Pentateuch, is considerably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus had only sixteen letters, and the Hebrew had two-and-twenty. Divine Legat. vol. iii. page 148. We find from Tacitus, that the Greek alphabet received considerable additions. As to the three letters added by Claudius to the Roman alphabet, Suetonius says, he invented three new letters, concerning which he published a book, while he was yet a private citizen; and, after his elevation to the imperial seat, his authority introduced them into common use, and the same were still extant in books, registers, and inscriptions on buildings. See Life of Claudius, f. 41. Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, has given, from a brass table found at Lyons, a speech made by Claudius to the senate; but in that monument of antiquity no trace appears of those new letters.

Section XVII.

(a) For an account of Flavius, the father, see Annals, book ii. f. 9 and 10.

(b) See the Geographical Table.

Section XVIII.

- (a) For the Chaucians, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) The countries now called *Zelande*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*. In those parts there were several canals and inlets of the sea, between the *Scheld*, the *Meuse*, and the *Rhine*.

Section XIX.

- (a) For the Frisians, see the Geographical Table : and for Lucius Apronius, see Annals, book iv. f. 73 and 74.

Section XX.

- (a) For the Mattiaci, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

- (a) Some of the commentators will have this person to be Quintus Curtius, the historian of Alexander the Great; but this opinion is without foundation. Tacitus would not omit a circumstance so very remarkable.

(b) For Adrumetum, see the Geographical Table.

(c) This story is related as a fact by the younger Pliny, lib. vii. ep. 27.

Section XXII.

- (a) In the consulship of Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, A. U. C. 575, Lucius Villius, tribune of the people, preferred a *rogatio* or bill, which passed into a law, to settle at what age the different magistracies might be obtained. *Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio, tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque.* Livy, lib. xl. f. 43. The quæstorship was the first office any person could bear in the commonwealth, and, by the new regulation, might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 115.

- (b) The *Comitia Curiata* owe their original to the division which Romulus made of the people into thirty *curiæ*, ten being contained in every tribe. They answered, in most respects, to the modern divisions of cities into parishes. Before the institution of the *Comitia Centuriata*,

Centuriata, or assemblies of the people in their centuries, which were in number 193, instituted by Servius Tullius, all the great concerns of the state were transacted in the curias; such as the electing of magistrates, the making or abrogating of laws, and the decision of capital causes. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 129.

Section XXIII.

(a) Gallia *Comata*, a general name for the whole country on this side of the Alps. See the Geographical Table.

(b) For the *Veneti* and *Insubres*, see the Geographical Table.

(c) Alesia was besieged by Julius Cæsar. The town, situated on the ridge of a hill, was almost impregnable. It could not be taken by assault. Vercingetorix commanded the garrison. Cæsar formed his lines of circumvallation, and was obliged to sit down before the place for a considerable time. He has left a circumstantial account of all his operations, and also of the speech of CRITOGNATUS, a leading chieftain among the Gauls, when the garrison, pressed by famine, debated whether they should capitulate, or sally out in a body, and die with glory, sword in hand. Cæsar records this man's speech, on account of its singular and nefarious cruelty; *propter ejus singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem*. CRITOGNATUS opposed all terms of accommodation. To sally out, he said, might be called an effort of brave despair; but it was in fact the pusillanimity of men who dreaded the hardships of an approaching famine. But what was the conduct of the ancient Gauls, when besieged by the Cimbri and the Teutones? Reduced to the last distress, they devoured the bodies of all who were incapable of bearing arms, and held out to the last. That, he said, was a glorious precedent: it deserved to be imitated, and transmitted to posterity. Alesia, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered at discretion, and Vercingetorix was delivered up. Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vii. f. 68 to the end of 89. For ALESIA, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXIV.

(a) It has been mentioned, note (b), f. 14, that a speech of Claudius, engraved on a tablet of brass, has been found at Lyons. It is set

forth at length by Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, vol. ii. 4to. page 349, and by Dotteville, vol. iv. page 422. The speech relates to the question stated by Tacitus, namely, the admission of the Gauls into the Roman senate. The historian has not given the argument in the form and words of the original speech. He has seized the substance, and expressed it with his usual brevity, in a style suited to an emperor, of whom he says, that in his prepared speeches he never wanted elegance. *Nec in Claudio, quoties meditata differeret, elegantiam requireres.*

Section XXV.

(a) We read in Suetonius, that Julius Cæsar filled up the vacancies in the senate, and advanced several commoners to the rank of patricians. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. f. 41. It should seem, from what Tacitus says, that he was willing to give colour to his proceedings, and therefore acted under a law called, after Cassius the consul for part of the year, the *Cassian law*. In like manner, Augustus adopted the same measure, and carried it into execution, under the authority of a law enacted in the consulship of Lucius Sænius, who was appointed to the office towards the end of the year, and therefore does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

(b) The number of Roman citizens mentioned in this place would be thought altogether incredible, if the estimate were to be understood to relate to the inhabitants of the capital: but the question was not, what number dwelt within the walls of the city; it extended to the whole body of the Roman people, wherever stationed.

Section XXVIII.

(a) This was *Mnestor*, the comedian, famous for his adulterous commerce with Messalina.

Section XXIX.

(a) As the whole history of Caligula is lost, the part which Calistus acted in the catastrophe of that emperor is not to be found in Tacitus. Cassius Chærea was the chief conspirator. He drew into his plot a number of leading men, and among them Calistus, a freed-
man

man enriched by the favours of Caligula. To apologize, in some degree, for his perfidy and ingratitude, the enfranchised slave gave out, that he had orders from Caligula to administer poison to Claudius. By that story, whether true or false, he varnished over his treachery to his benefactor, and secured his interest with the next emperor.

Section XXXVI.

(a) Lateranus was nephew to Aulus Plautius, the famous general who commanded in Britain A. U. C. 796, and subdued the southern part of the island. See the Life of Agricola, f. xiv ; and f. xvii. note (d).

Section XXXVIII.

(a) Claudius contracted an incestuous marriage with the daughter of his brother Germanicus : Agrippina destroyed the emperor's son Britannicus, and afterwards dispatched Claudius himself, to open the road to empire for her son Nero, who, it is well known, was guilty of parricide : and Narcissus, the favourite freedman, ended his days in a dungeon. Annals, book xiii. f. 1.

N O T E S.

ON THE

TWELFTH BOOK

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section II.

(a) **S**UETONIUS gives an account of the wives of Claudius in regular succession. His first wife was Plautia Urgulanilla. Being in a short time divorced from her, he married Ælia Petina, descended from a father of consular rank: by her he had a daughter named Antonia; for whom see the Genealogical Table, No. 105. For Ælia Petina, see No. 104. Claudius was divorced from his second wife. He then married Messalina, and by her had a daughter, Octavia, and a son named Britannicus. Lollia Paulina, who aspired on the present occasion to the imperial bed, had been married to Caligula, and was soon divorced. See for her the Genealogical Table, No. 89. Agrippina, the successful candidate, was the daughter of Germanicus, the brother of Claudius. For her, see the Genealogical Table, No. 93; and for the whole transaction as here related by Tacitus, see Suet. in Claud. f. 26.

Section III.

(a) Domitius, the son of Agrippina, was afterwards Nero the emperor. See the Genealogical Table, No. 35.

Section

TWELFTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 46A

Section XI.

(a) Tiberius had given two kings to the Parthians, viz. Phraates and Tiridates. Annals, book vi. f. 31 and 32.

Section XII.

(a) For the Arabs, see the Geographical Table.

Section XIII.

(a) A people who inhabited a part of Mesopotamia. See the Geographical Table.

(b) NINOS, formerly the celebrated city of *Nineve*, the capital of Assyria. See the Geographical Table.

(c) This mountain, and the river *Corma*, are mentioned by Tacitus only.

Section XV.

(a) Mithridates mentioned in this place was descended from the great Mithridates, who waged the long war with the Romans, called the Mithridatic War. Claudius, in a distribution of kingdoms among the princes bordering on the Euxine, made the descendant of Mithridates king of Bosphorus.

(b) The Dandaridæ inhabited a tract of country on the Euxine shore. See the Geographical Table.

(c) A people near the Palus Mæotis. See the Geographical Table.

Section XVI.

(a) The Aorfians were mentioned in the former section. See the Geographical Table.

(b) For Soza, see the Geographical Table.

(c) Panda, a river not well known at present.

Section XVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Taurus, a chain of mountains in Asia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XVIII.

(a) Achæmenes was grandfather to Cambyfes, and after him the Persian kings were called ACHÆMENIDÆ.

Section XXII.

(a) Suetonius has given some particulars of the marriage of Caligula with Lollia Paulina. She was in a distant province with her husband Memmius Regulus, in whose consulship Sejanus met his fate. See Annals, v. in the Supplement, f. 32. Regulus, in the time of Caligula, had the command of the army in Syria. Lollia Paulina, his wife, accompanied him to his government. Caligula called her back to Rome, and married her; but was soon divorced. Suet. in Calig. f. 25. Pliny the elder describes, with indignation, the immense and almost incredible wealth, which she displayed in her dress, and the laboured ornaments of her person at the banquet after the marriage ceremony. He says, he saw her sinking under the load of diamonds that encumbered her robe, and sparkled in her hair, her ears, on her neck, her arms and fingers. This profusion of riches was not the gift of a prodigal emperor; but the spoil of plundered provinces, acquired by her grandfather Marcus Lollius, while he commanded the Roman legions in the east. The emperor of Rome exhibited the plunder he had gained by proscriptions and the murder of Roman citizens; and a woman displayed more magnificence, than ever entered into the imagination of the CURII and FABRICII. Pliny, lib. ix. f. 35.

Section XXIII.

(a) Agrippa was the descendant of Herod the Great, who was made king of Judæa by a decree of the senate A. U. C. 714, and died in the year 750, about four years before the Christian æra. Agrippa, his grandson, was thrown into prison by Tiberius, and restored to his kingdom by Caligula. He died A. U. C. 797. Sohemus, mentioned in the text, was descended from Sohemus king of Ituræa, who was murdered by Herod A. U. C. 726. See Josephus; and for Ituræa, see the Geographical Table.

(b) The precinct of the city of Rome was called the POMÆIRUM,

as the antiquarians say, from *ponere mœnia*. The Romans had not the *new lights* that teach the legislators of France to make *Atheism* the foundation of their wild democracy. After a beginning so truly impious and detestable, no wonder that we see no rule of justice, no moral rectitude, no order in their legislative assembly, and no power in their executive council to enforce obedience to the laws. They have established civil and religious anarchy : rapine, murder, and every crime that shocks humanity have been the consequence. The Romans had the good sense to set out with other principles. Even in that dark age they had an idea of a superintending Providence, and referred every thing to the immortal Gods. The very walls of Rome were consecrated to tutelar deities, and accordingly considered as sacred. The vacant space on both sides of the wall was holy ground ; *quod neque habitari, neque arari fas erat*. As the city increased, the same religious ceremony was observed. *In urbis incremento semper, quantum mœnia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur*. Livy, lib. i. f. 44. To enlarge the precinct of Rome was called *Jus proferendi pomarii* ; but that right was of such consequence, that it was allowed to none but those who extended the boundaries of the empire. After the inclosure of the seven hills by the kings of Rome, *septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces*. Sylla, the dictator, was the first who had the honour of widening the Pomærium, A. U. C. 674. Seneca de Brevit. Vitæ, cap. xiv. Julius Cæsar, after all his victories, claimed the same right, A. U. C. 710 ; and Augustus followed his example, A. U. C. 746. Dio, lib. xliii. The number of inhabitants, when Rome was in its flourishing state, Lipsius computes at four millions. Brotier has offered a more probable conjecture. He compares Paris and London with Rome ; and his numbers, on a fair calculation, are :

Paris	—	—	—	640,000
London	—	—	—	768,000
Rome	—	—	—	1,188,000

Brotier proceeds in his estimate to the Chinese empire, where he reckons two hundred million of inhabitants, whereas the number in

Europe is computed at 130 million. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. ii. page 379, 4to edit.

Section XXV.

(a) Attus Claufus, called afterwards Appius Claudius, has been mentioned, book xi. f. 24, as the founder of the Claudian family. We are told the same by Virgil :

Ecce Sabinorum prisco de fanguine magnum
Agmen agens CLAUSUS, magnique ipse agminis instar ;
Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
Per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.

ÆNEID. vii. ver. 706.

Section XXVII.

(a) For an account of the Ubians, originally a people of Germany, afterwards changed into a Roman colony, see the Manners of the Germans, f. xxviii. note (g).

(b) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXVIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXIX.

(a) Maroboduus being expelled from his dominions, and, under an appearance of protection, detained as a state prisoner at Ravenna, Vannius was made king by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, A. U. C. 772. Annals, book ii. f. 63.

(b) Lygians, a people of Germany. See the Geographical Table.

(c) Jazyges, a people of Sarmatia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXXI.

(a) As Tacitus's account of the six first years of Claudius is lost, the invasion of Britain, under the command of Aulus Plautius, has not occurred either in this book, or that which precedes it. It is, therefore, proper to mention in this place, that, from the descent made by

by Julius Cæsar, A. U. C. 699, and, after him, Aulus Plautius was the first Roman general that landed in Britain, A. U. C. 796. Vespasian, afterwards emperor, served in that expedition. The southern parts of the island were reduced to subjection. Claudius visited his new conquest, and at his return, having enlarged the Roman empire, entered Rome in triumph. We now find that Ostorius Scapula succeeded to Aulus Plautius. The sequel will shew the spirit of liberty that inspired the Britons, and the consummate ability with which the Roman general triumphed over a fierce and warlike people. For the several officers who commanded in Britain, from this time to the arrival of Agricola, A. U. C. 831, see the Life of Agricola, f. xvii. note (*d*). For the rivers ANTONA, now the *Avon*; SABRINA, now the *Severn*; and AUFONA, now the *Nen*; see the Geographical Table. Camden is of opinion that ANTONA, the *Avon*, has found its way into the text by mistake, and that the true reading should be AUFONA, the *Nen*. See Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, 431. Camden's opinion has been followed in the translation.

(*b*) The *Iceni* inhabited *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*. See Life of Agricola, f. xi. note (*a*).

Section XXXII.

(*a*) The *Cangi* inhabited *Cheshire*, and part of *Lancashire*, opposite to *Ireland*.

(*b*) *Brigantes*, the people inhabiting *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*.

(*c*) *Silures*; the people who occupied *Herefordshire*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Monmouth*, and *Glamorgan*, and in general *South-Wales*.

(*d*) *Camelodunum*, now *Colchester*.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) *Caractacus*, according to Camden, reigned in the county of *Cardigan*.

(*b*) *Ordovices*, the people of *North-Wales*.

(*c*) This spot, Camden says, was in *Shropshire*, where the COLUNUS,

now the *Clune*, runs into the *TEMUDUS*, now *Temd*, not far from a hill called *Caer-Carodoc*.

Section XXXV.

(a) This river, according to Camden, was the *Temd*.

Section XXXVI.

(a) Aulus Plautius, as mentioned f. xxxi. note (a), invaded Britain A. U. C. 796; an active and warlike chieftain in every campaign against the Romans. Tacitus is never better pleased, than when he has an opportunity of doing justice to the chiefs of foreign nations, who distinguished themselves by their virtue, their courage, and their love of liberty. See his character of Arminius, *Annals*, ii. f. 88. Carac-tacus, in like manner, is represented in the brightest colours; great in the field of battle, and not less so before the emperor Claudius, in the presence of the Roman people. Mr. Mason has formed a noble dramatic poem on the subject. He has made a fine use of Tacitus in many passages, but in none more than in the following lines, which the reader will see are a beautiful insertion from the real speech of Carac-tacus to the emperor Claudius:

——— Soldier, I had arms;
Had neighing steeds to whirl my iron car;
Had wealth, dominion. Dost thou wonder, Roman,
I fought to save them? What, if Cæsar aims
To lord it universal o'er the world,
Shall the world tamely crouch at Cæsar's footstool?

AULUS DIDIUS.

Read in thy fate our answer. Yet if sooner
Thy pride had yielded—

CARACTACUS.

Thank the gods, I did not.
Had it been so, the glory of thy master,
Like my misfortunes, had been short and trivial,
Oblivion's ready prey. Now, after struggling

TWELFTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 467

Nine years, and that right bravely, 'gainst a tyrant,
 I am his slave to treat as seems him good.
 If cruelly, 'twill be an easy task
 To bow a wretch, alas! how bow'd already!
 Down to the dust: If well, his clemency,
 When trick'd and varnish'd by your glossing penman,
 Will shine in honour's annals.

If Mr. Mason has departed from the strict line of historical truth, he has done it with the privilege of a poet, and his poem is enriched by the fiction. The isle of Mona was not attacked till A. U. C. 814, when Suetonius Paulinus invested the place, ten years after Caractacus was led a prisoner to Rome; nor was that island finally reduced till the year 831. See the Life of Agricola, f. xviii. Virgil, it is well known, adorned his poem by bringing together Dido and Æneas. The same disregard of chronology may be allowed to the author of Caractacus, since, by making his hero take sanctuary among the DRUIDS in Mona, he has produced the episodical incidents of a beautiful piece. But why the honour of taking Caractacus prisoner, and sending him to Rome, should be transferred from OSTORIUS to AULUS DIDIUS, no good reason appears. Didius did not command in Britain till that event was passed. On the death of OSTORIUS, he was appointed governor; a tame inactive officer, who did not, as we are told by Tacitus, distinguish himself by one warlike exploit.

Section XL.

(a) It is not to be inferred from this passage, that it was a general principle with the Britons not to acquiesce under a female reign. Boadicea, as will be seen hereafter, was queen of the Iceni; and she, at the head of her army just going to give battle, tells the soldiers, "It is not the first time that the Britons took the field under the conduct of a woman." Book xiv. f. 35. The fact was, the people saw a warlike chief oppressed by his wife, and therefore resolved to submit no longer to the tyranny of a woman.

Section XLII.

(a) Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, sister of Caligula, the wife of Claudius, and the mother of Nero. Racine, who has many fine insertions from Tacitus in his tragedy of Britannicus, has imitated this passage :

Moi, fille, femme, sœur, et mere de vos maîtres.

Section XLV.

(a) GORNEAS, a castle in Armenia, according to D'Anville, now called *Khorien*. For Artaxata and Tigranocerta, see the Geographical Table. The story of Rhadamistus and Zenobia, which is here related by Tacitus, furnished Crébillon, the celebrated French poet, a subject for one of his best tragedies. Pharasmanes and his son Rhadamistus are represented, with historical truth, in all the colours of their guilt ; the former, as accessory to the death of his brother Mithridates ; and the latter, as the murderer of his uncle. Rhadamistus, in the end, dies by the hand of his father. In fact, he was afterwards put to death by Pharasmanes. *Annals*, xiii. f. 37. The English tragedy of ZENOBIA deviates so far from Tacitus, as to represent Rhadamistus in an amiable light. The fable, or plot, is almost entirely new ; and the catastrophe aims at the passions of terror and pity, instead of exciting horror ; an emotion of the mind, to which the strong but sombre genius of Crébillon seems to have had a peculiar bias.

Section LIII.

(a) Suetonius says that the law, of which Pallas was the first mover, was afterwards enforced by Vespasian, who caused a decree to pass, enacting that the woman, who married the slave of another person, should be deemed a slave. *Suet. in Vesp. f. xi.* Pliny the consul says, that he himself saw, on the Tiburtine road, near the first milestone, a monument erected to the memory of Pallas, with an inscription, importing, that the senate voted to Pallas the prætorian ornaments, and a sum of fifteen millions of sesterces, as a reward for his fidelity, and regard for his patrons. See book vii. epist. 29. In a subsequent letter, Pliny mentions the same fact again. He states the words

words of the inscription: *Huic senatus, ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos, ornamenta prætoria decrevit, et sestertium centies quinquagies; cujus honore contentus fuit.* Pliny adds, that he had the curiosity to inspect the decree, and he found the inscription modest, in comparison with the lavish praise bestowed upon an insolent upstart by the senate. Pallas refused the money; and to complete the farce, the senate voted that the emperor should request a manumitted slave to yield to the entreaty of the fathers. Pallas still persisted to reject the money, professing to have a soul above the love of wealth. It was decreed, that the honours of that arrogant wretch, as well those which he refused, as those which he accepted, should be inscribed on brass, as a public and lasting monument. See the account at large, Pliny, lib. viii. epist. 6.

Section LV.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section LVI.

(a) For the lake *Fucinus*, and the river *Liris*, see the Geographical Table.

(b) Suetonius says, Claudius attempted the Fucine lake, as much with a view to the glory of the performance, as an expectation of advantage. He finished a canal three miles in length, partly by cutting through, and partly by levelling a mountain; a work of prodigious difficulty, thirty thousand men having been employed in constant labour for eleven years together. Suet. in Claud. f. 20.

(c) Brotier says, the circumference of the lake was six-and-twenty miles.

(d) Pliny the elder says, he himself saw Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, at the naval spectacle, adorned with a magnificent robe wrought in pure gold, without any intermixture of other materials. *Nos vidimus Agrippinam Claudii principis, edente eo navalis prælii spectaculum, assidentem ei, indutam paludamento, auro textili, sine aliâ materiâ.* Pliny, lib. xxxiii. f. 19.

Section LX.

(a) CAIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS was the author of a law in favour

vour of the Roman knights, A. U. C. 632. He added three hundred of the equestrian order to the same number of senators, and vested in that body all judicial authority. The *Servilian* law, introduced by QUINTUS SERVILIUS CÆPIO, in his consulship A. U. C. 648, repealed the *Sempronian* institution, and restored the jurisdiction of the senate.

Section LXI.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXII.

(a) Now *Constantinople*. See the Geographical Table.

(b) An obscure man of the name of Andriscus pretended to be the son of Perseus. He was found to be an impostor, and therefore called Pseudophilippus. He was defeated, and taken prisoner by Metellus, A. U. C. 606.

(c) Antiochus III. king of Syria, waged war against the Romans, and was conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, A. U. C. 564. Perseus, king of Macedonia, was subdued by Paulus Æmilius, A. U. C. 586. Aristonicus invaded Asia, and was overthrown by Perperna, A. U. C. 623.

(d) The people of Cilicia fitted out a number of armed ships, and over-ran the Mediterranean. This was called the Piratic War. Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator of that name, and father of Antony the triumvir, was sent, with extraordinary powers given to him in his commission, to clear the seas of those roving freebooters, A. U. C. 684. The war however was not brought to a conclusion. In the year 687, the same commission was given to Pompey, notwithstanding the strong opposition of Quintus Catulus, who thought that Pompey was growing too great for his country, and therefore entered his public protest against trusting the commonwealth to the hands of one man. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 31; and see Cicero, *Pro Lege Maniliâ*.

Section LXIII.

(a) Montesquieu makes an ingenious use of this passage: Having bestowed his encomium on the British constitution, he observes that

TWELFTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 471

Harrington, in his *Oceana*, has strained his idea of liberty to so high a pitch, that it may amuse in theory, but never can exist in practice. He built CHALCEDON, when he had BYZANTIUM before his eyes. Spirit of Laws, vol. i. page 324.

Section LXIV.

(a) Domitia Lepida is said in the original to have been the daughter of the younger Antonia. But this, according to Suetonius, is a mistake. Antony the triumvir had two daughters, each called Antonia, by Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The eldest, Suetonius says, was married to Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, and by him was the mother of Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, the first husband of Agrippina, and by her the father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 32, 33 and 34. Antonia the younger was married to Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and by him was the mother of Germanicus and the emperor Claudius. See her character, Annals, iv. in the Supplement, f. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 42.

Section LXVI.

(a) For Sinuessæ, see the Geographical Table. The waters of this place are recommended for their salubrity by Pliny the elder, lib. xxxi. f. 3.

Section LXIX.

(a) The thirteenth of October.

N O T E S

O N T H E

THIRTEENTH BOOK

O F

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

(a) **T**HIS was Marcus Junius Silanus, the son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, the grand-daughter of Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 55, 56 and 57.

(b) See Annals, xii. f. 57 and 65.

Section III.

(a) Nero's passion for the elegant arts, had he known how to restrain it within due bounds, might have been not unworthy of a prince; but we shall see him in the sequel as ridiculous for his taste, as he was detestable for his vices.

Section IV.

(a) See the trial of Valerius Asiaticus in the apartment of Claudius, Annals, xi. f. 2.

(b) This speech gave universal satisfaction. It was, probably, written by Seneca. While it promised a reign of moderation, it served to give the young prince a lesson on the true and popular arts of government. Dio tells us, that the senate ordered it to be engraved on a pillar of solid silver, and to be publicly read every year at the time when the consuls entered on their magistracy. Dio, lib. lxi.

THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 473

Section V.

(a) This corrupt practice, which was nothing less than open bribery, was established by law in the reign of Claudius. *Annals*, xi. f. 22.

Section VII.

(a) Agrippa was king of Judæa; Antiochus, of Commagene. See the Geographical Table.

(b) The Lesser Armenia was on this side of the Euphrates. See the Geographical Table. Aristobulus was the son of Herod, who formerly reigned in *Chalcis*.

(c) For the country called Sophene, see the Geographical Table.

Section VIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XI.

(a) For Plautius Lateranus, see *Annals*, xi. f. 36.

Section XII.

(a) Acte was a purchased slave from Asia. Suetonius says that Nero, being at one time determined to marry her, suborned several men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent. *Suet. in Neron.* f. 28.

(b) Otho, afterwards emperor.

Section XIII.

(a) Annæus Serenus was high in the esteem and friendship of Seneca, as appears, *epist.* lxxiii.

Section XIV.

(a) Pallas was the person who prevailed on Claudius to contract an incestuous marriage with his niece Agrippina. From that time his influence was beyond all bounds. Suetonius says he was the prince's treasurer: *Pallantem a rationibus*. The decree of the senate in honour of this insolent freedman has been mentioned, *Annals*, xii. f. 53, and

note (a). Suetonius says, that Pallas and Narcissus plundered the public with such violent rapacity, that Claudius at length complained of the impoverished state of his exchequer, when it was archly said, his *coffers would be full enough, if his two freedmen would take him into partnership*. Suet. in Claud. f. 28. The dismissal of such a man from court, and all his employments, was a fatal blow to Agrippina. The speech in which she gives vent to her indignation is finely imitated by Racine, in his tragedy of Britannicus :

Pallas n'emporte pas tout l'appui d'Agrippine
 Le ciel m'en laisse assez pour venger ma ruine.
 Le fils de Claudius commence à ressentir
 Des crimes, dont je n'ai que le seul repentir.
 J'irai, n'en doutez point, le montrer à l'armée ;
 Plaindre aux yeux des soldats son enfance opprimée ;
 Leur faire, à mon exemple, expier leur erreur,
 On verra, d'un côté, le fils d'un empereur
 Redemandant la foi jurée à sa famille ;
 Et de Germanicus on attendra la fille :
 De l'autre, l'on verra le fils d'Ænobarbus,
 Appuyé de Seneque, et du tribun Burrhus ;
 Qui tous deux, de l'exil rappelés par moi-même,
 Partagent à mes yeux l'autorité suprême.
 De nos crimes communs je veux qu'on soit instruit ;
 On sçaura les chemins par où je l'ai conduit.
 J'avoirai les rumeurs les plus injurieuses :
 Je confesserai tout, exils, assassinats,
 Poison même

Section XV.

(a) The Saturnalia began on the seventeenth of December, and lasted fifteen days. Horace says to his slave, who wants to exercise the *equality* allowed during the festival,

——— Age, libertate Decembri,
 Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere ; narra.

(b) In

THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 475

(b) In this play of *Who shall be King?* the boys threw dice to decide their chance. Horace alludes to this custom, when he says,

Non regna vini fortiere talis.

Lib. i. ode 4.

And again,

Roscia, dic fodes, melior lex, an puerorum

Nænia, quæ regnum rectè facientibus offert.

Lib. i.

(c) The commentators cite some verses of Ennius, which they suppose were sung by Britannicus on this occasion. But what they say is mere conjecture.

Section XVIII.

(a) They took the palaces, villas, and estates of Britannicus.

Section XXII.

(a) Seneca calls Balbillus the best of men, and a scholar of uncommon erudition. *Virorum optimus, in omni literarum genere rarissimus.* See Quæst. Nat. cap. iv. f. 2.

(b) The Romans had three ways of exterminating a man from his country; namely, *Exilium*, *Relegatio*, and *Deportatio*. The person condemned to exile lost the rights of a citizen, and forfeited all kinds of property. Sentence of relegation removed the person to a certain distance from Rome; but, if no fine was imposed, it took away no other right. *Deportation* was invented by Augustus. It was the severest kind of banishment. The person condemned was hurried away in chains, stripped of all property, and confined to some island or inhospitable place.

Section XXVII.

(a) The Romans had two different modes of enfranchisement, or of granting freedom to their slaves. The first was performed by the prætor, who ordered the slave to turn round, and with a switch or cane struck him on the head or back, informing him that he was thereby manumitted. The second way of granting freedom was by writing under the master's hand, or by his voluntary declaration in the

presence of a few friends. The most solemn mode of manumission was that by the rod, called *Vindicta*: hence Perseus the satirist says, *Vindictâ postquam meus a prætore recessi*. The person so enfranchised, obtained all the rights of a Roman citizen. The second form of manumission conveyed to the slave a degree of liberty, but did not rank him in the class of citizens, nor allow him to be in any case a legal witness. The consequence was, that the patron, who granted freedom by his own private act, had time to consider, whether the slave, whom he released, was worthy of a further favour. He might, if he thought proper, invest him with all the rights of a citizen by the more solemn mode of manumission before the prætor. See Heineccius, *Antiquit. Roman. Juris*. i. tit. 4 and 5.

(b) Paris the comedian was a slave belonging to Domitia, the emperor's aunt. See the Genealogical Table, No. 40. He had paid a sum of money for the degree of liberty, which her private act conferred, and still remained in her list of freedmen. Aspiring above that rank, he pretended to be ingenuous by his birth, and, by consequence, intitled to all the rights of a Roman citizen; and his plea, we find, was admitted. It is said that Domitia was obliged to repay to the pantomime actor, the money which she had received for his freedom.

Section XXIX.

(a) It has been already observed, that *Ærarium* was the treasury of the public; *Fiscus*, that of the prince. Pliny the elder says, that, in the time of the republic, when the private exchequer of the emperor was a thing unknown, the money in the treasury, A. U. C. 663, amounted to a prodigious sum. It was still greater when Julius Cæsar, in the beginning of the civil war, A. U. 705, made himself master of all the riches of the commonwealth. From that time the dissipation of the emperors, and the rapacity of their favourites, effectually drained the *Ærarium*, and impoverished the state.

Section XXXI.

(a) This amphitheatre was built entirely with wood. Suetonius says it was completed within the year; and that Nero, in the public spectacles

spectacles which he exhibited, gave orders that none of the combatants should be slain, not even the criminals employed upon that occasion. Suet. in Neron. f. 12. See Pliny, lib. xvi. f. 40.

(b) A tax on all commodities exposed to sale was imposed by Augustus, in the consulship of Metellus and Nerva, A. U. C. 755. Dio says it was at first the fiftieth penny, but we find that in time the sum was doubled.

Section XXXII.

(a) This was Aulus Plautius, who, in the reign of Claudius, made the first descent on Britain. See the Life of Agricola.

(b) Lipsius and other commentators are of opinion, that what is here called a foreign superstition, was the Christian religion.

(c) Suetonius tells us, that Claudius put to death the two Julias, the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any proof of guilt, and without so much as hearing them in their defence, A. U. C. 796. Suet. in Claud. f. 29.

Section XXXIII.

(a) See this book, f. 1.

Section XXXIV.

(a) Corvinus Messala was joint consul with Augustus, A. U. C. 723. For more of him, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Section XXXVI.

(a) This mode of punishment was established by ancient usage. Livy relates, that the cohorts, which had lost their colours, were obliged to remain on the outside of the camp, without their tents, and were found in that condition by Valerius Maximus the dictator. *Cohortes, quæ signa amiserant, extra vallum sine tentoriis destitutas invenit dictator Valerius Maximus.* Livy, lib. x. f. 4.

Section XXXVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) For the Hyrcanians, see the Geographical Table.

Section

Section XXXIX.

- (a) For Trebizonde, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) Lipsius says, this castle is mentioned by no other ancient author.
- (c) See the Geographical Table.
- (d) For the Araxes, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLII.

- (a) For this man, Suillius, see Annals, iv. f. 31; Annals, xi. f. 1.
- (b) For the Cincian law against the venality of orators, see Annals, xi. f. 5 and 7.
- (c) This was Julia, the daughter of Germanicus. Seneca was accused of an intrigue with her, and banished by Claudius to the isle of Corsica, A. U. C. 794. He was recalled by the influence of Agrippina, Annals, xii. f. 8.
- (d) The charge of usury, with which the memory of Seneca is loaded, rests chiefly on the authority of Dio. By that historian we are told that the philosopher had placed immense sums at interest in Britain, and, by his vexatious and unrelenting demands of payment, was the cause of insurrections among the Britons. Dio's veracity has been questioned, but the passage in Tacitus gives some colour to the charge.

Section XLIII.

- (a) Quintus Pomponius has been mentioned before; Annals, vi. f. 18. For the death of Sabina Poppæa, see Annals, xi. f. 2.
- (b) For the Baleares, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLIV.

- (a) In this account of the varying passions of lovers, Tacitus seems to have had his eye on the passage in Terence:

In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia: injuriæ,

Suspiciones, inimicitiae, induciæ,

Bellum, pax rursum.

EUNUCH. act. i. f. 14.

- (b) He was sent into banishment. History, iv. f. 44.

Section

THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 479

Section XLV.

- (a) Probably the same who was consul A. U. C. 762.
- (b) Her mother Poppæa has been mentioned, Annals, xi. f. 1 and 2.
- (c) The name of the son was Rufinus Crispinus, who, we are told by Suetonius, was thrown into the sea by order of Nero, because he was reported to act among his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. Suet. in Neron. f. 35. Otho, who succeeded so well with Poppæa, was afterwards emperor.

Section XLVII.

- (a) See the Geographical Table.
- (b) Brotier says, now *Villa Belloni* and *Villa Verospi*, near the gate called *Salara*.

Section XLVIII.

- (a) See the Geographical Table.

Section L.

- (a) The oppressions exercised by this class of men are often mentioned by Tacitus, Livy, and other Roman historians.

Section LI.

- (a) See Montesquieu on this subject, Spirit of Laws, book xiii. ch. 19.

Section LII.

- (a) Sulpicius Camerinus, with his son, was afterwards put to death by Nero. See Appendix to the xvth book of the Annals.

Section LIII.

- (a) Drusus, the father of Germanicus, died in Germany A. U. C. 745. He had finished a canal, as mentioned Annals, ii. f. 8; and to prevent the overflowings of the Rhine, which often deluged the adjacent parts of Gaul, he laid the plan of a strong bank, by which the waters would have been thrown into a different course, and discharged into the lakes, now the *Zuyder-zee*. This great work was at length finished by Paulinus Pompeius.

(b) The

(b) The *Arar* is now the *Soane*. Brotier observes, that this great undertaking, tending to communicate the Mediterranean and the Ocean, often attempted, and as often abandoned, was at length accomplished, to the immortal glory of Lewis XIV. That imperial work, worthy of a king, is now called the *Royal Canal*, or the Canal of *Languedoc*.

Section LIV.

- (a) For the Frisians, see the Geographical Table.
 (b) Pliny the elder says, that Pompey's theatre was large enough to hold forty thousand men. Pliny, lib. xxxvi. f. 15.
 (c) The Germans had no idea of any kind of public spectacle but that which they had seen in their own country. Manners of the Germans, f. xxiv.

Section LV.

- (a) The country into which the irruption was made, is supposed to be the land between *Wesel* and *Dusseldorf*. The Ansibarians, before they [were expelled by the Chaucians, inhabited between the river *Amisia* (the *Ems*) and the *Rhine*.
 (b) The revolt of the Cheruscans, in which Varus and his three legions perished. Annals, book i. f. 10.
 (c) For the Chamavians, the Tubantes, and Usipians, see the Manners of the Germans, f. 32 and 33. ¶

Section LVI.

- (a) For the Bructerians and Tencterians, see the Manners of the Germans, f. 32 and 33.
 (b) The country on the borders of the river *Luppia*, now the *Lippe*. ¶

Section LVII.

- (a) See the Geographical Table.
 (b) This was the river *Sala*, still known by the same name. It discharges itself into the *Albis*, now the *Elbe*.
 (c) This method of producing salt is explained by Pliny in his Natural History, lib. xxxi. f. 7.

THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 481

Section LVIII.

(a) It was supposed that under the shade of this tree Romulus and Remus were nourished by the she-wolf, as beautifully described by Virgil:

Fecerat et viridi foetam Mavortis in antro
Procubuisse lupam: Geminos huic ubera circum.
Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
Impavidos; illam tereti cervice revulsam
Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua.

ÆNEID, lib. viii.

Rumen was an old Latin word for *mamma*, or the dug of the she-wolf: thence the tree was called RUMINALIS.

(b) Some of the commentators think that there is a mistake in the computation, and that it ought to be eight hundred and thirty years. The difference is not material.

N O T E S

ON THE

FOURTEENTH BOOK

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

- (a) **O**THO, afterwards emperor. See book xiii. f. 45 and 46.

Section II.

- (a) Aête has been already mentioned, Annals, xiii. f. 12.
(b) Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 54.

Section III.

- (a) See the Geographical Table.

Section IV.

- (a) A feast in honour of Minerva, beginning on the nineteenth of March, and continued for five days. See Ovid, Fast. lib. iii. ver. 713 and 810.

- (b) *Bauli*, formerly the seat of Hortensius, was famous for great plenty of fish; hence at this day the name of *Peschiera d'Crtenfio*.

Section V.

- (a) The Lucrine Lake, now *Lago Lucrino*. Agrippina's villa was at *Bauli*. There is in the neighbourhood a place now called *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

Section

Section IX.

(a) It is still called, as mentioned above, *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

(b) Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar had their villas in the neighbourhood of *Baiæ*, all built on the ridge of hills, and looking, as Seneca says, more like military works than a rural seat. *Scias non villas esse, sed castra*. Epist. 51.

Section XI.

(a) See her attempt prevented by Seneca, *Annals*, xiii. f. 5.

Section XII.

(a) This eclipse was the day before the kalends of May, that is, on the 30th of April, A. U. C. 812; of the Christian æra 59. See Pliny, lib. ii. f. 70.

(b) For Junia Calvina, see *Annals*, xii. f. 8; and the Genealogical Table, No. 62. For Calpurnia, *Annals*, xii. f. 22.

(c) For Lollia Paulina, see *Annals*, xii. f. 22.

(d) Iturius and Calvifius banished by Nero; *Annals*, xiii. f. 22.

(e) Silana was also banished by Nero; *Annals*, xiii. f. 22.

Section XIV.

(a) This was a circus begun by Caligula, and finished by Nero. The church of St. Peter is built on this spot, and the obelisk which stood there, was placed before St. Peter's, at a vast expence, by Pope Sextus V.

Section XV.

(a) We are told by Dio, that Ælia Catella, a woman of four-score, exposed herself and old age to scorn, by dancing on the stage, among the court sycophants of the time. Dio, lib. lxi.

(b) Suetonius says, that the leaders of this new society had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them. In *Neron*. f. 20.

Section XVI.

(a) Brotier compares this poetical patchwork to the *bouts rimés*, which exercised the minor poets of France in the last century.

Section XVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) It does not appear when this man was expelled the senate. The account of that affair is lost. It is probable that this is the Livineus Regulus, who is mentioned, Annals, iii. f. 11.

Section XVIII.

(a) He was afterwards restored to his rank. Hist. i. f. 17. For the Cyrenians, see the Geographical Table.

(b) This African king, according to Livy, epitome lxx. died A. U. C. 658, and left all his possessions to the Roman people.

Section XIX.

(a) Domitius Afer was a man of ambition, willing to advance his fortune by the worst of crimes. *Quoquo facinore properus clarescere.* Annals, iv. f. 52. He is praised by Quintilian as an orator of considerable eloquence. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Section XX.

(a) Suetonius informs us, that Nero was the first that instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several arts of music, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed every five years, which he called *Neronia*. In Neron. f. 12.

(b) This theatre has been mentioned, book xiii. f. 54. It was built A. U. C. 699.

(c) Among the Roman knights there were four *Decuriæ* appointed to exercise jurisdiction. Suetonius says, that Caligula, to relieve the judges from the fatigue of business, added a fifth class to the former four. In Calig. f. 16.

Section XXI.

(a) The pantomime performers were brought to Rome from *Tuscany*, A. U. C. 390. Livy, lib. vii. f. 2.

(b) The people called *Tburii* inhabited part of Lucania. The spectacle of horse-races was invented by them, and exhibited at Rome A. U. C. 140. Livy, lib. i. f. 35.

(c) Lucius

FOURTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 485

(c) Lucius Mummius conquered Corinth, A. U. C. 608, and obtained the title of *Achaicus*. Velleius Paterc. lib. i. f. 13.

Section XXII.

(a) This place received its name from its proximity to the Simbruine Lakes, and was thence called *Sublaqueum*. Brotier says, it is now *La Badia di Subjaco*.

(b) The Marcian waters were conveyed to Rome in aqueducts of great labour and expence by Ancus Marcius, one of the Roman kings. See Pliny, lib. xxxi. f. 3.

Section XXIII.

(a) See Annals, xiii. f. 41.

(b) See the Geographical Table.

(c) For the Mardians, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXIV.

(a) For the Tauranitii, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXV.

(a) The shortest way to Hyrcania was by the Caspian Sea; but, for the reason given by Tacitus, the *Red Sea* was thought more eligible.

Section XXVI.

(a) Tiridates was brother to Vologeses, the Parthian king. See Annals, xii. f. 51; and book xiii. f. 37 and 41.

(b) Archelaus was king of Cappadocia. See Annals, ii. f. 42.

(c) Pharasmanes has been often mentioned as king of *Iberia*; Polemon, king of *Pontus*; Aristobulus, king of *Armenia Minor*; and Antiochus, of *Commagene*.

(d) See Annals, xii. f. 45.

Section XXVII.

(a) For Laodicea, see the Geographical Table.

Section

Section XXVIII.

(a) Suetonius says, Nero struck off the supernumerary candidates, and, to make them some compensation for the delay of their hopes, assigned them posts of honour in the legions. In Neron. f. 15.

(b) The sum, by way of penalty for a frivolous and vexatious appeal, was one third of the money in dispute between the parties. The words of the law were, *Affertor, si provocet, in ejusmodi tertiam cavere debet, quanti causa aestimata est.*

(c) The people of Mauritania.

(d) For an account of Vibius Crispus, an advocate who accumulated immense riches, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 8.

Section XXIX.

(a) Petronius Turpilianus, during his consulship, was the author of a law, called *Lex Petronia*, by which the master was no longer at liberty, at his will and pleasure, to compel any of his slaves to fight the wild beasts; but a just ground of complaint appearing before the proper magistrate, that mode of punishment was enforced. *Dominis potestas ablata est ad bestias depugnandas suo arbitrio servos tradendi. Oblato tamen judici servo, si justa sit domini querela, sic pænæ tradetur.* Digest. lib. xlviii. tit. 8. He was also the author of a decree, called the *Turpilian Decree*, by which all, who began a prosecution, and either harassed the defendant by delays, or abandoned the cause, were subjected to heavy penalties. Two regulations so just, that it is wonderful, says Brotier, how they escaped the notice of Tacitus.

(b) For the inactivity and unwarlike spirit of Aulus Didius, see Annals, xii. f. 40; and Life of Agricola, f. 14.

(c) For the Silures, see the Geographical Table.

(d) Mona, now *Anglesey*.

Section XXX.

(a) For an account of the Druids, see Cæsar's Commentaries.

Section XXXI.

(a) Prasutagus, king of the Icenians. See the Geographical Table.
The

The outrages committed by the Romans are strongly painted by the late Mr. Glover, after his master Tacitus.

Section XXXII.

(a) The world at that time was overcast by the gloom of superstition. The Romans often knew how to avail themselves of it; but the Barbarians in this instance had the advantage.

(b) Houses seemed to be inverted in the water; but the laws of optics were not considered by the Britons. In their minds every thing was a prognostic.

Section XXXIII.

(a) London, even at that time, was the seat of trade and commerce. If it has gone on increasing for above 1700 years, till it is now become the greatest city in the world, it is because industry has been protected by a constitution, which has improved during the whole time, and is now the wonder and the envy of surrounding nations.

(b) Verulanum, now *Verulam* near *St. Albans*, in *Hertfordshire*. The great Bacon has made the name immortal.

Section XXXV.

(a) Dio has put into the mouth of Boadicea, a long, a tedious, and enervate speech.

Section XXXVII.

(a) According to Camden, the camp of the second legion was in *Monmouthshire*, at a place called, by the Britons, *KAER LHEION*, *Urbs Legionis*, the city of the legions. The place where this battle was fought is not ascertained; but it is evident that Suetonius had collected his forces from all quarters.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) There is reason to infer from a passage in the History, book i. f. 59, that the eight auxiliary cohorts were Batavians.

Section XL.

(a) Antonius Primus will be seen, in the History of Tacitus, acting the part of an able general.

(b) The man who thinks poverty the worst of evils, will not be long before he thinks honesty a ragged virtue. Seneca has left a very different maxim. *Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis oportet, aut pauperi similis.* Epist. xvii.

(c) The Cornelian law was enacted by Cornelius Sylla the dictator, who made banishment to an island the sentence to be passed on all who should suppress a true will, or forge a false one. It appears however in the History, book ii. f. 86, that Antonius was only expelled the senate.

Section XLI.

(a) That punishment was either *exile, relegation* to an island, or degradation from the offender's rank. *Omnes enim calumniatores exilii, vel insulæ relegatione, aut ordinis amissione puniri placuit.* See Julius Paulus, De Injuriis, leg. xi.

Section XLII.

(a) Slaves were in the habit of saving money in order to purchase their freedom. See the case of Paris the comedian, book xiii. f. 27. See also Seneca, epist. lxxx.

(b) Caius Cassius has been mentioned to his honour, book xii. f. 12.

Section XLV.

(a) See a decree of the senate on this subject, Annals, xiii. f. 32.

Section XLVI.

(a) See book xii. f. 59.

Section XLVII.

(a) Pliny the elder, lib. xv. f. 4, says, that the Greeks, the inventors of every kind of vice, were the first that made oil subservient to the corruption of manners, by distributing it at their public spectacles. *Usum olei ad luxuriam vertere Græci, vitiorum omnium genitores, in Gymnasis publicando.*

Section XLVIII.

(a) See Annals, xiii. f. 28.

(b) Capito was formerly accused by the people of Cilicia, and convicted of oppression and extortion. Annals, xiii. f. 33.

(c) The tribunitian power was assumed by Augustus, as he said, for the purpose of protecting the people. *Ad tuendam plebem tribunicio jure contentum se ferebat.* Annals, i. f. 2. It was, in fact, the whole executive power of the state vested in one man, who could, at his will and pleasure, controul the senate and all the magistrates.

(d) By this judgment Antistius was to suffer *more majorum*, that is, as Suetonius explains it, to be fastened stark naked by the neck within a forked stick, and scourged to death. Suet. in Neron. f. 49.

Section XLIX.

(a) The senate often decided, without calling on each member for his opinion, by *dividing the house*; *per discessionem*. Pliny the younger describes the manner of doing it: You who think so, go to that side; as many as are of a contrary opinion, go to this side. *Lex ita discessionem fieri jubet: qui hæc sentitis in hanc partem; qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite quâ sentitis.* Plinius, lib. viii. ep. 14.

(b) This was Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

Section L.

(a) This man was one of the pernicious race of informers in the reign of Domitian. Juvenal mentions him, sat. iv. ver. 123.

Section LI.

(a) Tigellinus rose from obscurity to be high in favour with Nero. He was the grand teacher of debauchery and every vice. Juvenal has recorded him, sat. i. ver. 155. See an account of the prodigious banquet given by this man, Annals, xv. f. 37.

Section LII.

(a) It is not settled among the critics, whether Seneca did not write some of the tragedies that bear his name.

Section LIII.

(a) Agrippa, in the year of Rome 731, retired to the isle of *Lesbos*, now *Metelin*.

(b) Mæcenæ had a house and magnificent gardens near Mount Esquiline. Pliny says, that the practice of having pleasure-grounds within the walls of a city, was unknown, till Epicurus led the way at Athens. *Primus hoc instituit Athenis Epicurus, otii magister. Usque ad eum moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura.* Pliny, lib. xix. f. 4. The gardens of Epicurus are become proverbial.

(c) Seneca was a native of Spain; born at *Corduba*, now *Cordoue*.

(d) Seneca had a number of villas and extensive gardens. Juvenal mentions

—— *Magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos.*

SAT. x. ver. 16.

The name of one of his villas was *Nomentanum*, as appears epist. cx. where he says, *Ex Nomentano meo te saluto.*

(e) This confirms the account given by Dio of his immoderate riches; but perhaps that historian exaggerates, when he imputes insurrections in Britain to the exactions of Seneca.

Section LVI.

(a) In the Annals, book xi. we have seen Vitellius consul for the third time.

(b) Volusius has been mentioned as an honest man, who acquired his wealth by honourable means, and lived to a great age. Annals, xiii. f. 30.

Section LVII.

(a) For Rubellius Plautus, see this book, f. 22. For Cornelius Sylla, see book xiii. f. 47.

(b) Rubellius Plautus was the son of Rubellius Blandus and Julia. See the Genealogical Table, No. 76.

Section LIX.

(a) This philosopher is praised by Pliny as an author of distinguished

ed merit. Mufonius has been also much commended for his moral doctrine.

(*b*) Her father, the emperor Claudius.

Section LXI.

(*a*) This was Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, mentioned in f. lx.

Section LXII.

(*a*) For Anicetus, the murderer of Agrippina, see this book, f. 7.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Julia, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was banished by the emperor Claudius, A. U. C. 794.

(*c*) The emperor Claudius her father, and her brother Britannicus, were both poisoned. See Annals, xii. f. 67 ; and Annals, xiii. f. 16.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) Nero was adopted by Claudius her father, and consequently was brother to Octavia.

Section LXV.

(*a*) Doriphorus, according to Dio, was private secretary to Nero. Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, has been often mentioned. He was dismissed from all his employments by Nero. See Annals, xiii. f. 14. Brotier says that his monument was found near Rome, in the year 1720.

(*b*) For more of Piso, see Annals, xv. f. 48.

N O T E S

ON THE

FIFTEENTH BOOK

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

- (a) **T**IGRANES, descended from the nobility of Cappadocia, was sent by Nero to ascend the throne of Armenia. Annals, xiv. f. 26.

Section IV.

- (a) The walls were fifty cubits high, as we are told by Appian, in his History of the Mithridatic War.
(b) For this river, see the Geographical Table.

Section V.

- (a) For the city of Nisibis, see the Geographical Table.

Section X.

- (a) Arsamofata, a city of Armenia, near the Euphrates, now *Simfat*.

Section XII.

- (a) He is called in the original, *Primi Pili Centurio*, that is, first centurion. He has been mentioned, book xiii. f. 36, by the name of Pactius Orphitus.

- (b) The civic crown for saving the life of a citizen, was often granted

granted by the emperor; but the consular commanders had the same power at the head of their armies.

Section XIII.

(a) The Roman army defeated by the Samnites, passed under the yoke at the *Caudinæ Furcæ*, now *Forchié*, A. U. C. 183. A more terrible defeat happened afterwards at Numantia, A. U. C. 617. The place is now called *Numancia*, and the ruins of antiquity are still to be seen.

Section XV.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Suetonius says expressly, that the legions passed under the yoke. In Neron. f. 39.

Section XIX.

(a) It was a settled rule of law, that in all elections for the magistracy, or the government of provinces, the preference should be given to the candidate who had the greatest number of children. See Annals, ii. f. 51.

(b) By the law *Papia Poppæa*, the estates of those who did not entitle themselves to the privileges annexed to the paternal state, were to devolve to the public as the common parent of all. Annals, iii. f. 28.

Section XX.

(a) The Cincian Law against venal advocates has been mentioned, Annals, xi. f. 5. Laws were also established by Augustus, called *Leges Juliae*, to prevent bribery at elections. Suet. in Aug. f. 34 and 40.

(b) The Calpurnian Law was introduced by Lucius Calpurnius Piso, *de pecuniis repetundis*, to compel restitution from such as were convicted of extortion, A. U. C. 605, in the beginning of the third Punic war. It was followed from time to time by new decrees, but all proved ineffectual.

Section XXII.

(a) It was a frequent practice of the provinces, to send a deputation
to

to the senate, with an address of thanks to the proconsuls or prætors, who were returned to Rome, for the blessings enjoyed by the people under their administration; and this contrivance served to advance the fame of the men who condescended to intrigue for applause, and thereby open their road to the highest honours of the state. See the Panegyric of Trajan, by Pliny the consul, f. 70.

(b) Seneca gives an account of this earthquake, but he places it in the following year. See *Quæst. Natural. quest. vi. f. 1.* Pompeii is now called *Torre dell' Annunciata*. It was afterwards totally overwhelmed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, A. U. C. 832.

Section XXIII.

(a) The worship paid to Fortune as a goddess is well known from Horace, lib. i. ode 35. *O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium.* There were two goddesses of fortune adored in that city; one, the *Happy*; the other, the *Equestrian*.

(b) Nero by his father was of the Domitian family, and by adoption of the Claudian. See the Genealogical Table, No. 35.

Section XXIV.

(a) For more of the Parthian superstition, and the scruples of Tiridates, see the Appendix to the Annals, xvi.

Section XXV.

(a) Pompey was employed as commander in chief in the Piratic war, with a commission giving to him supreme authority in every province to the extent of fifty miles from the sea coast. By the decree of the senate on that occasion, Velleius Paterculus observes, almost the whole Roman world was subjected to the will of one man. *Quo senatus consulto pæne totius orbis terrarum imperium uni viro deferebatur.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. f. 31. See Plutarch, Life of Pompey.

Section XXVI.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) This superstitious ceremony is described by Livy. The soldiers
were

were drawn out on an open plain, and crowned with laurel wreaths, while victims were sacrificed to the god of war. The general harangued his men upon the occasion. Livy, lib. i. f. 28.

Section XXVII.

(a) Lucullus commanded the legions in Armenia, A. U. C. 685. See Plutarch, Life of Lucullus.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Tiberius Alexander was by birth one of the Jewish nation, but an apostate from the religion of his country. Josephus, Jewish Antiq. lib. xx. f. 5. The emperors frequently sent their chosen favourites to attend the general, but, in fact, to be spies upon his conduct.

(b) Not yet five-and-twenty.

Section XXX.

(a) The night in a Roman camp was divided into four watches, each for the space of three hours. When the sentinels were changed, notice was given by the sound of trumpet. See Hist. lib. ii. f. 29.

Section XXXI.

(a) Vologeses king of Parthia, and Pacorus king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates. For Ecbatana, see the Geographical Table.

(b) None but persons of high rank were admitted to embrace the governors of provinces. According to the ideas of that age, the honour was so high, that the Parthian king thought proper to make it a preliminary article.

Section XXXII.

(a) The capital of the Maritime Alps was called *Ebrodunum*, now *Embrun*. See an account of the territories of the Duke of Savoy. The rights and privileges of Latium have been already mentioned, Annals, xv. f. 32.

(b) The *Roscian Law*, so called after L. Roscius Otho, was established

blished A. U. C. 685. It assigned fourteen rows in the theatre to the Roman knights; but was silent as to the *Circus*, where the senators, the knights, and the commonalty were mixed in a promiscuous course. Afterwards in the consulship of Cinna and Messala, A. U. C. 757, the senators and knights had a place assigned at the spectacle of the *Circus*, where they sat apart from the *plebeians*, but without any distinction between their own two orders. Claudius allotted proper places for the senators. Suet. in Claud. f. 21. It remained for Nero to take care of the equestrian order. Suet. in Neron. f. 11.

(c) Suetonius says, Nero engaged four hundred senators, and six hundred Roman knights, some of them of fair fortune and character, to enter the lists as gladiators, and encounter the wild beasts. He also invited the vestal virgins to see the wrestlers, because, as he said, at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were allowed the privilege of seeing that diversion. Suet. in Neron. f. 12. See Annals, xiv. f. 15; and notes (a) and (b). See Juvenal, sat. vi. ver. 245; sat. viii. ver. 194.

Section XXXV.

(a) For Silanus Torquatus, see the Genealogical Table, No. 61.

Section XXXVII.

(a) Suetonius tells us, that Nero frequently supped in public, either in the Field of Mars, or the Circus, attended at table by the common harlots of the city, or from Syria. When he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted along the bay of Baiæ, booths, with all conveniences for drinking and debauchery, were ranged on the margin of the sea, while ladies of pleasure stood like firens, to invite the passengers from their ships. Suet. in Neron. f. 27.

(b) The lake of Agrippa was in the gardens adjoining to his house, near the Pantheon.

(c) This platform was constructed by a great number of timbers fastened together, and left to float on the water. Lucan has described such a platform with a tower on it. Pharsal. lib. iv. ver. 17.

(d) Dio has given an account of Nero's marriage with Pythagoras, and

and also of his taking Sporus, the eunuch, to be his wife. See Appendix to book xvi. f. 8.

(e) Juvenal has described this scene of impious prostitution :

————— Dum fedet illa parato
Flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
Sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
Antiquo; veniet cum signatoribus auspex.

SAT. X. ver. 333.

Adorn'd with bridal pomp she sits in state,
The public notaries and aruspex wait ;
The genial bed is in the garden drest ;
The portion paid, and every rite exprest,
Which in a Roman marriage is profest. }

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) Suetonius relates the fire of Rome, and has no doubt of Nero's guilt. He tells us, that somebody repeating in conversation,

Ἐμὲ θανόντος γαῖα μυχθήτω πυρὶ,

When I am dead let fire devour the world ;

Let it be, said Nero, *whilst I am living*, ἐμὲ ζώντος. And accordingly, pretending to dislike the old buildings, and the narrow winding of the streets, he set fire to the city in so barefaced a manner, that several men of consular rank met Nero's domestic servants with torches and combustibles, but did not dare to apprehend them. Suet. in Neron. f. 38. See Dio, lib. lxii.

(b) Livy observes, that, after the city was fired by the Gauls, it was rebuilt in close, narrow, winding streets. See Livy, lib. v. f. 55.

Section XXXIX.

(a) The gardens of Mæcenas were near Mount Esquiline.

(b) The monuments of Agrippa were, his house, his gardens, his baths, and the Pantheon. The last remains at this day.

(c) Nero's gardens joined to the Vatican.

(d) Suetonius says, in express terms, that Nero beheld the conflagra-

tion from a tower on the top of Mæcenas's house, and, being highly pleased with so grand a sight, went to his own theatre, and in his scenic dress tuned his harp, and sung the destruction of Troy. Suet. in Neron. f. 38.

Section XLI.

(a) Evander was originally a native of Arcadia in Greece. The visit of Hercules forms a beautiful episode in Virgil's *Æneid*, book viii.

(b) For the temple of Jupiter Stator, see Livy, lib. i. f. 12.

(c) The palace of Numa was on Mount Palatine, afterwards the mansion of Augustus, near the temple of VESTA, where the vestal virgins watched the perpetual fire. See Horace, lib. i. ode 2.

(d) The fourteenth of the calends of July, or the eighteenth of June. This is confirmed by Livy, who says, lib. vi. f. 1, that the battle at *Allia* was fought on the fifteenth of the kalends; and book v. f. 41, he says the victorious Gauls entered Rome on the following day.

Section XLII.

(a) According to Suetonius, Nero turned the public calamity to his own private advantage. He promised to remove the bodies that lay amidst the ruins, and to clear the ground at his own expence. By that artifice he secured all the remaining property of the unhappy sufferers for his own use. To add to his ill-gotten store, he levied contributions in the provinces, and by those means collected an immense sum. Suet. in Neron. f. 38. Brotier has given an elaborate description of the New Palace, vol. ii. p. 490, 4to edit.

(b) The Lake Avernus was in the neighbourhood of Baïæ, now *Lago Averno*.

(c) Now *Paludi Pontine*, in the territory of Rome.

Section XLIII.

(a) Strabo says, that by an ordinance of Augustus, no new built house was to be more than seventy feet high. Trajan afterwards, according to Aurelius Victor, fixed the elevation at sixty feet. The rule prescribed by Nero cannot now be known.

(b) We

(b) We are told by Suetonius, that Nero introduced a new model for building in the city, and, by porticos and piazzas before the front, contrived, in case of fire, to hinder the flames from spreading. In *Neron*. f. 16.

(c) Vitruvius says, that the Alban and Gabian stone was not the hardest, but it resisted fire; while the stone from other quarries was apt, when heated, to crack, and fly off in fragments. Vitruvius, lib. ii. cap. 7.

(d) Brotier observes, that by a law of the Twelve Tables, a space of something more than two feet, was to be left between all new-built houses.

(e) It is known, says Brotier, from the experience of medical people, that at Rome there are more patients, during the summer, in the wide parts of the city, which lie open to the sun, than in the narrow places, where the inhabitants are shaded from the intense heat.

Section XLIV.

(a) The beds, on which the gods and goddesses were extended at all public festivals, were called *Lectisternia*. See Livy, lib. v. f. 13.

(b) Brotier observes, that the Jews, in that period of time, were guilty of great enormities; and the distinction between them and the Christians not being understood, all were considered in the same light, despised and hated by the Romans.

(c) This was the first persecution of the Christians. Nero, the declared enemy of human kind, waged war against a religion, which has since diffused the light of truth, and humanised the savages of Europe. It is true, as Suetonius relates, that Claudius banished the Jews, who were raising seditious tumults, at the instigation of one CHRESTUS. That name, it is almost needless to observe, cannot, at least ought not to be confounded with JESUS CHRIST; who, it was well known at Rome, had suffered under Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius. CHRESTUS, Brotier observes, was not an uncommon name among the Greeks and Romans. When the Jews were ordered by Claudius to depart from Rome, all of that nation, who professed themselves followers of CHRIST, were, without distinction, included in the number. The

edict of the emperor was not pointed against the Christians. Nero appears to be the first that attacked them as the professors of a new religion; and when such a man as Tacitus calls it a dangerous superstition, *exitibilis superstitio*, it must be allowed, that, indirectly, an apology is made for Nero. But for Tacitus, who had opportunities for a fair enquiry, and ability to know and decide, what excuse can be offered? The vices of the Jews were imputed to the Christians without discrimination, and Tacitus suffered himself to be hurried away by the torrent of popular prejudice. And yet we find that his friend Pliny, during his administration in the province of Bithynia, thought and acted with moderation. The Christians were under a prosecution; Pliny, in his character of proconsular governor, was in doubt how to proceed. He wrote to the emperor Trajan on the subject; and after stating that the *real Christians were not to be forced, by any means whatever, to renounce the articles of their belief*, he proceeds to the sum total of their guilt, which he found to be as follows: They met on a stated day before it was light, and addressed themselves in a prayer or hymn to CHRIST, as to a God, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for any wicked purpose, but never to commit any *fraud, theft, or adultery*; never to *falsify their word*, nor *deny a trust reposed in them*; after which, it was their custom to separate, and then re-assemble to eat their meal together, in a manner perfectly harmless and inoffensive. They desisted, says Pliny, from this custom, after my edict, issued according to your order, against the holding of any assemblies whatever. *Affirmabant hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti statò die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod, obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent; ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen, et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hæcarias esse vetueram.* Plin. lib. x. ep. 97. Such is the account of the religion, which Tacitus calls a *pernicious* superstition. Pliny adds, in the same letter, that, in order to come at the real truth, he ordered two female slaves to be put to the torture, but he could discover nothing more than a rooted and excessive superstition. Trajan, in

in his answer to this letter, determines, that if Christians are brought before the governor, and proved to be guilty, they must be punished, unless they renounce their errors, and invoke the gods of Rome. In that case they were to be pardoned, notwithstanding any former suspicion. But the emperor says to his minister, "I would not have you officiously enter into any inquiries concerning them." Pliny's letter, Mr. Melmoth observes, is esteemed as almost the only genuine monument of ecclesiastical antiquity, relating to the times immediately succeeding the apostles, being wrote not above forty years after the death of Paul. It was preserved by the Christians themselves, as a clear and unsuspicious evidence of the purity of their doctrines. It is therefore with good reason, says Brotier, that Tertullian, in a strain of exultation, declares, That the Christians, "for their innocence, their probity, justice, truth, and for the living God, were burnt alive. The cruelty, ye prosecutors! is all your own; the glory is ours." *Pro tantâ innocentia, pro tantâ probitate, pro justitiâ, pro virtute, pro Deo vivo cremamur: Crudelitas vestra; gloria est nostra.*

(d) The Jews, as will be seen in the History, book v. f. 5, were charged with harbouring a fullen aversion towards all mankind. It is unnecessary to vindicate the Christian religion from that imputation.

(e) Juvenal alludes, with his usual indignation, to the barbarous cruelties described by Tacitus. See sat. i. ver. 155.

Section XLVI.

(a) For Præneste, see the Geographical Table.

(b) Spartacus, a gladiator, kindled up the Servile War A. U. C. 681.

(c) For Formiæ, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLVII.

(a) For Placentia, see the Geographical Table.

Section L.

(a) Fenius Rufus has been mentioned to his honour, Annals, xiv. f. 51.

(b) Agrippina, Nero's murdered mother.

Section LII.

(a) Lucius Silanus, the son of Marcus Junius Silanus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 59.

(b) Caius Cassius, banished to Sardinia A. U. C. 818. See Annals, book xii. f. 11 and 12.

Section LVI.

(a) The weakness here imputed to Lucan, cannot be read by any man who has a respect for genius, and the true dignity of the human character, without emotions of pity and regret. But, perhaps, without any studied comment, the case admits a plain and obvious apology. Two eminent men (Natalis and Scevinus) had been taken into custody. *At the sight of the rack their resolution failed*, and they discovered their accomplices. Lucan knew that the same engine of cruelty was ready for himself and his two friends, Quinctianus and Senecio. All three were tempted by a promise of pardon, and they endeavoured to earn it by making discoveries. Lucan might think that his mother, a woman who boasted neither rank nor fortune, would not, among a great number of daring conspirators, be deemed an object worthy of notice; and, besides, the terrors of the rack may conquer the most heroic mind. When the executioner appears with his torturing engines, it is no longer the moment of courage. He who in the ranks of war is ready to face every danger, may shrink from the pangs prepared for him in a dungeon, where he must suffer under a villain's hand, unseen, unpitied, unapplauded. When Felton, who stabbed the duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, was examined before the privy council, the Bishop of London said to him, *If you will not confess, you must go to the rack*. The man replied, If it must be so, I know not whom I may accuse; perhaps some Lord at this board. Sound sense, says Judge Foster, in the mouth of an enthusiast and a ruffian! In the same distress, the same hurry and perturbation of spirit, Lucan mentioned his mother. He might think that she was not of consequence to provoke resentment; and the event shewed, if he thought so, that his conclusion was right. Nero affected to forget her. She and Seneca's wife were suffered to live. For these reasons, the conduct of Lucan may admit of some extenuation; more especially, when he had

had before his eyes the example of senators, and men of consular rank. But a late writer thinks he has discovered a better ground of defence. He denies the fact, and says, Tacitus has *adopted a gross calumny*, invented by Nero to *vilify the object of his envious abhorrence*. But it may be asked, if Nero framed the story, is it probable that a writer, who wages an incessant war against evil men and evil deeds, would have descended to be the accomplice of a tyrant? Tacitus, through the whole of his narrative, has done ample justice to all who died with glory; to Epicharis, the enfranchised slave, who displayed her constancy, in defiance of the keenest torture; to Seneca, who left an example of unshaken virtue; to Subrius Flavius, whose last words to Nero were, “ I hated you when you became a coachman, a comedian, and an incendiary;” to Sulpicius Asper, the centurion; and, above all, to Lucan himself, who died with undaunted courage, repeating a passage from his own poem. Let it also be remembered, that when Lucan’s father suffered death in the following year, Tacitus says, that the son reflected the highest honour on the father; *grande adjumentum claritudinis*. The writer who has treated Lucan with so much candour, would neither adopt nor invent a calumny, to brand his name in the page of history. But to conclude this long note: It is by no means probable, that Tacitus, who wrote in the reign of Trajan, not much more than thirty years after the death of Lucan, would hazard a glaring falsehood in the face of his contemporaries; and it is less probable, that Mr. Hayley, at the distance of more than 1730 years, should be better informed than the great historian, who lived at the very time of the transaction. See Poems, by William Hayley, Esq. vol. iii. p. 206.

Section LX.

(a) This was Seneca’s villa, called *Nomentanum*, which he mentions, epist. cx. and also civ. *in Nomentanum meum fugi*.

Section LXIII.

(a) For his diet, see in this book, f. 45.

Section LXIV.

(a) This poison was called *cicuta*. Seneca says, it made Socrates a great man: *Cicuta magnum Socratem fecit*. Epist. xiii.

Section LXVIII.

(a) Statilia Messalina had been Nero's third wife. See the Genealogical Table, No. 39.

Section LXX.

(a) The commentators point out different passages in the *Pharsalia*, but all depend on mere conjecture. Lipsius thinks the description of Lycidas, at the point of death, most probable.

Ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inferit uncus,
Affixit Lycidam : merfus foret ille profundo,
Sed prohibent focii, fuspensaque crura retentant.
Scinditur avulfus ; nec sicut vulnere, sanguis
Emicuit lentus : ruptis cadit undique venis,
Discurfusque animæ diversa in membra meantis
Interceptus aquis ; nullius vita perempti
Est tantâ dimissa viâ ; pars ultima trunci
Tradidit in Letum vacuos vitalibus artus ;
Aut tumidus quâ pulmo jacet, quâ viscera fervent,
Hæferunt ibi fata diu, luctataque multum
Hac cum parte viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.

PHARSAL. lib. iii. ver. 635.

Other critics contend for the following lines :

Sanguis erant lacrymæ ; quæcumque foramina novit
Humor, ab his largus manat cruor ; ora redundant,
Et patulæ nares ; sudor rubet : omnia plenis
Membra fluunt venis : totum est pro vulnere corpus.

PHARSAL. ix. ver. 811.

Section LXXI.

(a) Laurel is called by Pliny the elder, the door-keeper of the Cæsars : *Janitrix Cæsarum*. Lib. xv. f. 30.

(b) Virginius was a rhetorician, and the preceptor of Perseus, the satirist ; as may be seen in the Life of Perseus.

(c) Musonius Rufus was a teacher of philosophy. See Annals, xiv. f. 59.

Section LXXII.

(a) Petronius Turpilianus was consul, as mentioned, book xiv. f. 29.

(b) Cocceius Nerva, afterwards emperor.

(c) For Nymphidius, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 13 ; and see the History, book i. f. 5.

Section LXXIII.

(a) Seneca, the philosopher, had two brothers ; namely, Annæus Mela, the father of Lucan, and Annæus Novatus, who was afterwards adopted by Gallio, and took that name. For the death of Mela, see Annals, xvi. f. 17.

Section LXXIV.

(a) The month of April was called Neronius, May Claudius, and June Germanicus. Annals, xvi. f. 12.

(b) For an account of Vindex, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi. p. 374.

(c) Augustus was deified by the poets, and in the provinces ; but no altars were erected to him at Rome during his life.

N O T E S

O N T H E

SIXTEENTH BOOK

O F

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

(a) **T**HE account of Dido's flight from Tyre with the treasures of her husband Sichæus, to avoid the fury of Pygmalion, who had basely murdered his brother for the sake of his riches, is finely given by Virgil. *Æneid* i. ver. 347.

(b) The kings of Numidia, and the African princes in the neighbourhood of Carthage, were enemies to the infant state founded by Dido.

Hinc Getulæ urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
Et Numidæ infræni cingunt.

VIRGIL, lib. iv. ver. 40.

Section II.

(a) The Quinquennial festival was established by Nero, A. U. C. 813. *Annals*, xiv. f. 20.

Section III.

(a) Suetonius relates the whole of this impostor's deception, and the chimerical projects of Nero in consequence of it. In *Neron*. f. 31.

Section IX.

(a) Nero did not scruple to appear upon the stage amongst other performers,

performers, even in the spectacles presented by the magistrates. He sung tragedies masked, the vizors of the gods and goddesses being formed into a resemblance of his own face. Among the rest, he acted *Canace in Labour*, *Orestes the Murderer of his Mother*, *Ædipus blinded*, and *Hercules mad*. In the last tragedy a soldier, at his post in the theatre, seeing the emperor bound with chains as the play required, ran to his assistance. Suet. in Neron. f. 21. See also the same, f. 22, 23 and 24. This ridiculous display of talents, beneath the dignity of a prince, is well described by Racine in his play of *Britannicus*:

Pour toute ambition, pour vertu singuliere,
Il excelle à conduire un char dans la carriere ;
A disputer des prix indignes de ses mains,
A se donner lui-même en spectacle aux Romains ;
A venir prodiguer sa voix sur un théâtre,
A reciter des chants qu'il veut qu'on idolatre.

Act iv. scene 4.

Racine's play was performed before Lewis XIV, who had before that time mixed in the dance on the public stage. The picture of Nero's folly made the monarch see himself, and from that time he resolved never to degrade the royal character.

Section V.

(a) See Suetonius in Neron. f. 23.

Section VI.

(a) Suetonius says, he married Poppæa twelve days after his divorce from Octavia, and, notwithstanding the vehemence of his love, killed her with a kick when she was big with child, only because she took the liberty to chide him for returning late from the chariot-race. He had by her a daughter, called Claudia Augusta, who died in her infancy. Suet. in Neron. f. 35.

(b) The first Romans did not burn their dead, but interred them, according to the custom of other nations. Pliny the elder says, that the practice of committing the dead to the funeral pile, was not intro-

duced till it was known that the bodies of soldiers, who died in foreign wars, were dug up by the enemy, and exposed to public view. And yet Plutarch, in his Life of Numa, observes that Numa was buried, pursuant to his own express injunction, directing that his body should not be committed to the flames; which shews that burning was known at Rome in that early period. The custom of burning the dead was held in abhorrence by several nations, and, according to Herodotus, by the Persians as well as the Ægyptians. Notwithstanding what Plutarch has said, Pliny assures us, that before Sylla the dictator, the bodies of the deceased were always interred by the Romans, and that the reason for burning that extraordinary man, was because, having dug up the body of Marius, he was afraid of being treated the same way himself, and therefore ordered his remains to be consumed to ashes. Pliny, lib. vii. f. 54. The custom of burning at Rome ceased under the Antonines.

(c) Besides the spices with which the body of Poppæa was embalmed, a prodigious quantity was burnt on the occasion, insomuch that Pliny says, all Arabia did not produce in an entire year as much as was consumed at the funeral of Poppæa. *Periti rerum asseverant ARABIAM non ferre tantum THURIS ET MYRRHÆ annuo fœtu, quantum Nero princeps novissimo Poppææ suæ die concremaverit.* Pliny, lib. xii f. 18.

(d) For the apotheosis of Nero's daughter by Poppæa, see Annals, xv. f. 23.

Section VII.

(a) The name of this person was Cassius Longinus, a lawyer far advanced in years, and blind. His crime, according to Suetonius, was, that among the busts of his ancestors, he kept that of the famous Cassius, who stabbed Julius Cæsar. Suet. in Neron. f. 37.

Section VIII.

(a) Lucius Silanus was son to Marcus Junius Silanus, who was great-grandson to Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 59. For his uncle Silanus Torquatus, see Annals, xv. f. 35.

(b) For

(b) For Lepida, see the Genealogical Table, No. 64.

(c) Marcellus Cornelius was afterwards put to death by Galba. Hist. lib. i. f. 37.

Section IX.

(a) Barium, a city in Apulia, now *Bari*.

Section X.

(a) For the death of Rubellius Plautus, see Annals, xiv. f. 58 and 59.

(b) Nero and Antistius Vetus were joint consuls, A. U. C. 808. See Annals, xiii. f. 11.

Section XII.

(a) For Fenius Rufus, see Annals, xv. f. 66 and 68.

(b) See Annals, xv. f. 74.

(c) The two Torquati were, Silanus Torquatus, Annals, xv. f. 35 ; and Lucius Torquatus, this book, f. 9.

Section XIII.

(a) This was a dreadful fire, by which in one night Lugdunum (now the city of Lyons) was reduced to ashes. Seneca says, *Una nox fuit inter urbem maximam et nullam*. See his Reflections on this Misfortune, epist. 91.

(b) The time when the people of Lyons granted a supply to the Romans cannot be ascertained. It was probably in the reign of Caligula.

Section XIV.

(a) Antistius Sorianus was banished on account of his satirical verses, A. U. 815. Annals, xiv. f. 48, 49.

(b) For Ostorius Scapula, see Annals, xii. f. 31 ; Annals, xiv. f. 48. He had commanded in Britain with great reputation.

(c) To give validity to a will, seven witnesses were necessary. Digest. lib. xxxvii. tit. De Bonorum Possessione.

Section XV.

(a) Annals, xii. f. 31.

Section XVII.

(a) Crispinus commanded the prætorians, *Annals*, xi. f. 1. He was banished to Sardinia, *Annals*, xv. f. 71.

(b) For Gallio, the brother of Seneca, see *Annals*, xv. f. 73.

(c) Brotier exclaims in this place, Let the detractors from the merit of Lucan hear what Tacitus says of him, and let them blush for their malignity. That a young poet, who ended his career in the 27th year of his age, should aim in many passages of his work at ambitious ornaments, and the false glitter which the example of his uncle Seneca and the taste of the age encouraged, cannot be matter of wonder; but, to atone for his faults, his poem is a treasure of sentiments worthy of a Roman. Lucan taught Corneille to think, and to express his thoughts with force and dignity.

(d) Juvenal gives us to understand that Lucan was possessed of great riches, and might therefore seek no reward but fame :

Contentus famâ jaceat Lucanus in hortis

Marmoreis.

SAT. vii. ver. 79.

(e) The plot to which Tacitus refers, is not related with perspicuity by any historian. All that is now known is, that Cerealis was the informer, and that Sextus Passienus, the chief of the conspiracy, with several men of rank, was put to death by order of Caligula.

Section XVIII.

(a) This is the writer whom Pope has celebrated in the *Essay on Criticism* :

Fancy and art in gay Petronius please,

The scholar's learning, with the courtier's ease.

The account here given of him by Tacitus, is elegant and interesting. See Plutarch, on the difference between a friend and a sycophant; and see Pliny, lib. xxxvii. f. 7.

(b) This was Scevinus the conspirator, for whom see *Annals*, xv. f. 49, 54, and 56.

Section XIX.

(a) This description of Nero and his flagitious court has been supposed by some critics to be the work called *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon*; but this, it is evident, must be a gross mistake. The *Satyricon* is a long work, and must have been written at leisure. It contains nothing that relates to the new modes of vice, or the secret practices of Nero's court. It glances often at the imbecility of Claudius, and presents a variety of miscellaneous matter, palpably the composition of a mind at ease. What was sent to Nero must have been a short performance, such as a man of genius might dispatch in a few hours. How should the passages, which have entitled Petronius to be ranked with the critics of antiquity, find a place in the narrative of a dying man?

Section XXI.

(a) When the death of Agrippina, Nero's mother, was announced to the senate, and the fathers, with their usual spirit of adulation, were preparing their decrees on that occasion, Thrasea rose from his seat and left the house. Annals, xiv. f. 12.

(b) See Annals, xiv. f. 48.

(c) For Cossutianus Capito, a man of infamous character, see Annals, xiii. f. 33.

Section XXII.

(a) The oath of fidelity was changed at different times. At first it was a solemn obligation to preserve the laws. Dio relates, that on the kalends of January, A. U. C. 712, the magistrates swore on the Acts of Julius Cæsar. In process of time, to swear on the Acts of the Emperors grew into use; though we have seen Tiberius refusing to admit that form of oath.

(b) Thrasea was forbid the presence of the emperor, A. U. C. 816. See book xv. f. 23. From that time, it does not appear that he entered the senate.

(c) The Journals of the Roman people, called in the original *Diurna Populi Romani*. These were the Roman newspapers. It is to be regretted that no collection of those fugitive pieces has come down

to us. We should have the pleasure of seeing minutely and distinctly *the private life of the Romans*, and the opportunity would be fair to make a comparison between a Roman journalist and the *doer* of a modern newspaper.

(d) Cicero, in the Oration for Muræna, gives a sketch of Tubero's character: "He was a man of illustrious birth, a scholar, and a professor of the stoic philosophy. Being desired, at the funeral of Scipio Africanus, to lay out the couches for the farewell supper, he chose the vilest sort, such as were used at Carthage, and, having covered them with goat skins, arranged in proper order a number of Samian vases, which were earthen ware; as if he were preparing for the funeral of Diogenes the cynic, and not for that of the divine Africanus, to whose honour Quintus Maximus, in a panegyric from the rostrum, said, he thanked the immortal Gods that such a man was born a Roman citizen; for wherever Scipio lived, there by consequence would be fixed the empire of the world." Cicero adds, that Tubero, a good and upright citizen, the grandson of Paulus Æmilius, and nephew to the deceased Scipio, gave umbrage to the people by his perverse wisdom, and for his goat skins lost his election when candidate for the prætorship. *Atque ille, homo eruditissimus, ac stoicus, stravit pelliculis hædinis lectulos punicanos, et exposuit vasa Samia; quasi vero esset Diogenes cynicus mortuus, et non divini hominis Africani mors honestaretur; quem cum summo ejus die Quintus Maximus laudaret, gratias egit Diis immortalibus, quod ille vir in hac republicâ potissimum natus esset: necesse enim fuisse, ibi esse terrarum imperium, ubi ille esset. Hujus in morte celebrandâ graviter tulit populus Romanus hanc PERVERSAM SAPIENTIAM Tuberonis; itaque homo integerrimus, civis optimus, cum esset Lucii Pauli nepos, Africani sororis filius, his HÆDINIS PELLICULIS præturâ dejectus est.* Tully pro Murænâ, vol. ii. p. 266, Delph. edit. Seneca, who was a professed stoic, says of that school, that there was no sect more benevolent, none more affectionate, and none more zealous to promote the good of society. *Nulla secta benignior, leniorque est; nulla amantior hominum, et communibus bonis attentior.* De Clementiâ, lib. ii. cap. 5. But the same Seneca teaches the impious doctrine of suicide. *In eum intravimus mundum,*

SIXTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 513

mundum, in quo his legibus vivitur: Placet? Pare. Non placet? Quacumque vis, exi. Epist. 91.

Section XXIII.

(a) Acratus has been mentioned as a person sent into Asia, to plunder the cities of their statues. Annals, xv. f. 45.

(b) Rubellius Plautus, for whom see Annals, xiv. f. 57 and 59.

Section XXIV.

(a) Nero was on his return from Campania.

Section XXVI.

(a) Arulenus Rusticus lived to establish a great and virtuous character. He was put to death by Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. See Life of Agricola, f. xi; and note (a).

Section XXVII.

(a) The emperors had their own special quæstors for the conduct of their affairs. Augustus was the first that established such an office. Suetonius says, he acquainted the senate with the scandalous behaviour of his daughter Julia by a narrative in writing, which was read to the fathers by the quæstor. Suet. in Aug. f. 65.

Section XXVIII.

(a) For more of Helvidius Priscus, see History, book iv. f. 5; and see Life of Agricola, f. ii. and note (b).

(b) Marcus Paconius, the father of Paconius Agrippinus, was cruelly put to death by Tiberius. See Suet. in Tib. f. 61.

(c) For more of Curtius Montanus, see History, iv. f. 40 and 42.

Section XXIX.

(a) It is supposed by some of the commentators, that the Montanus mentioned in this place is the person introduced by Juvenal in the deep consultation held by Domitian, about the manner of dressing a fish of enormous size:

Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur? absit ab illo
Dedecus hoc, Montanus ait, &c.

SAT. iv. ver. 130.

Section XXXII.

(a) Egnatius, the professor of the stoic philosophy, who appears as a witness against Barea Soranus, is mentioned by Juvenal:

Stoicus occidit Barea, delator amicum,
Discipulumque senex.

SAT. iii. ver. 116.

See the History, book iv. f. 10.

Section XXXIV.

(a) Notice has been taken, f. xxvii. note (a), of the imperial quaestors. The consuls also had their quaestors, as we read in Dio, lib. xlviii. where it is said that Appius Claudius and Caius Norbanus, consuls A. U. C. 716, had each of them two quaestors under their own immediate direction.

(b) Demetrius is praised by Seneca, not merely as a philosopher, but as a man of consummate virtue. De Beneficiis, lib. vii. cap. 8. In another place he calls him emphatically, not the teacher, but the witness of truth. *Non praeceptor veri, sed testis.* Epist. xx.

(c) Arria, his wife, was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, who, in the reign of Claudius, A. U. C. 795, plunged a dagger in her own breast, to give her husband Cæcina Pætus an example of undaunted courage. See the Life of Agricola, f. ii. notes (a) and (b).

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

SIX LAST BOOKS OF THE ANNALS.

N O T E S

ON THE

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

SIXTEENTH BOOK

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

(a) **E**PICTETUS, as we are told by Arrian, recorded the Apothegms of Thrasea, and in particular the sentiment here ascribed to him.

(b) Pliny the consul observes, that many, who are themselves slaves to every vice, are, notwithstanding, malicious declaimers against the errors of others ; yet, surely, a lenity of disposition is of all other virtues the most becoming. The rule which ought to be most religiously observed, is, Let us be inexorable to our own failings, while we treat those of the rest of the world with tenderness, not excepting even such as forgive none but themselves, remembering always what the humane, and, therefore, the great Thrasea used to say : “ He who hates vice, hates mankind.” *Nostine hos, qui omnium libidinum servi, sic aliorum vitiis irascuntur, quasi invideant, et gravissimè puniunt, quos maximè imitantur ? Cum eos etiam, qui non indigent clementiâ ullius, nihil magis quam lenitas deceat. Atque ego optimum et emendatissimum existimo, qui cæteris ita ignoscit, tanquam ipse quotidie peccet ; ita peccatis abstinet, tanquam nemini*

ignoscat. Proinde hoc domi, hoc foris, hoc in omni vitæ genere teneamus, ut nobis implacabiles simus, exorabiles istis etiam, qui dare veniam nisi sibi nesciunt; mandemusque memoriae, quod vir mitissimus, et ob hoc quoque maximus, Thrasea dicere crebro solebat: QUI VITIA ODIT, HOMINES ODIT. Plin. lib. viii. epist. 22. Mr. Melmoth, the elegant translator of Pliny, says, The meaning of this maxim seems to be, that as it is difficult to separate the action from the man, we should not suffer the errors of the world to raise in us that acrimony of indignation, which, if well examined, will, perhaps, be oftener found to proceed from some secret principle of malice, than a just abhorrence of vice. And, therefore, as Seneca observes, *Satius est publicos mores et humana vitia placidè accipere.* See Melmoth's Pliny, book viii. epist. 22.

(c) Helvidius Priscus was recalled from exile, and afterwards put to death in the reign of Vespasian. See Appendix to book v. of the History; and see Life of Agricola, f. ii. and note (b).

(d) Paconius Agrippinus has been mentioned, Annals, xvi. f. 28.

(e) These particulars are related by Arrian, in Epicteto, i.

(f) Arrian has recorded this fact. Seneca has mentioned Demetrius with the highest applause, and chiefly for the following sentiment: Nothing can be more unfortunate than the man who has never felt the stroke of adversity: he has had no experience of himself. *Nihil mihi videtur infelicius eo, cui nihil unquam evenit adversi: non licuit enim illi se experire.* Seneca de Providentiâ, cap. iii.

Section II.

(a) Cornutus was the friend and preceptor of Perseus the poet.

—Teneros tu fuscipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu.

SAT. v. ver. 36.

Crevier, in the Lives of the Emperors, tells us, that Nero intended to write the Roman History in verse, and in four hundred books. That will be too many, said Cornutus; nobody will read them. In answer, he was told, that Chrysippus had written a great many more. Yes, replied Cornutus, but the difference between the authors is very great.
He

He escaped with his life, but was banished. Crevier's Roman Emperors, vol. iv. p. 295.

(b) See Annals, xv. f. 29 and 30.

(c) Vologeses, king of Parthia, and Pacorus, king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates. Monobazus was king of the Adiabeniensians.

(d) See Annals, xv. f. 31.

(e) See the Geographical Table.

(f) For Patrobius, see Pliny, lib. xxxv. f. 13.

(g) The skill in archery, which Tiridates displayed on the occasion, is related by Dio.

Section III.

(a) The appearance of Tiridates before the Roman people, and the prodigious magnificence of that public spectacle, are described by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 13.

(b) Suetonius, f. 13. See also Dio, lib. lxiii.

Section IV.

(a) The Sun, under the name of MITHRA, was worshipped by the Persians, and almost all the eastern nations. See Hyde, History of the Persian Religion.

(b) The speech of Tiridates, and Nero's answer, are recorded by Dio Cassius, lib. lxiii.

(c) Pliny mentions the decorations of the Theatre, and the vast display of gold for the reception of Tiridates. *Nero Pompeii Theatrum operuit auro in unum diem, quod Tiridati regi Armeniæ ostenderet.* Lib. xxxiii. f. 3. See also Dio Cassius, lib. lxiii.

(d) Dio says, this feast was given in Nero's golden palace; for which, see Pliny, lib. xxxiii. f. 3.

(e) Rome, under the emperors, was often disturbed by the violent spirit of theatrical factions, the leaders of which were distinguished by the colour of their drefs, such as *white, blue, green, and yellow*. This is what Tacitus, in another place, has called HISTRIONALIS FAVOR. Montesquieu has considered it as one of the causes of the declension of the Roman empire. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xxix. note (c).

- (f) Dio relates this remark made by Tiridates.
 (g) Pliny the elder has given an account of Nero's passion for the occult sciences, lib. xxx. f. 2.

Section V.

- (a) Suetonius says, Nero spent in treating Tiridates with unparalleled magnificence, eight hundred thousand sesterces a day; a sum almost incredible! and at his departure presented him with above a million. Sueton. in Nero, f. 30.
 (b) The destruction of Artaxata has been mentioned, Annals, xiii. f. 41.
 (c) The superstitious veneration with which the Parthians considered the Sea, has been already mentioned. Pliny says, *Tiridates navigare voluerat, quoniam exspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant.* Lib. xxx. f. 2.
 (d) See the Geographical Table.
 (e) For Dyrrachium, see the Geographical Table.

Section VI.

- (a) Suetonius says, Nero, having placed his laurel crown in the capitol, and being complimented with the title of Imperator, closed the temple of Janus. In Nero, f. 13.
 (b) Suetonius mentions his intended expedition to the Caspian Sea, f. 19.
 (c) These levies of men, six feet high, to be called the Alexandrian phalanx, are stated by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 19.
 (d) See Suetonius, in Nero, f. 22.
 (e) Suetonius, in Nero, f. 30.
 (f) Suetonius, in the place last cited.

Section VII.

- (a) Helius, the freedman, is mentioned by Dio Cassius in the character of prime minister during Nero's absence from Rome. Corneille has described a slave rising to preferment, with the sententious brevity of Tacitus :

Jamais

SIXTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS. 519

Jamais un affranchi n'est qu'un esclave infame ;
Bien qu'il change d'état, il ne change point d'ame.

CINNA, act iv. scene 6.

(b) See the Geographical Table.

(c) The city of Cassiope, and the temple of Jupiter Cassius, are both mentioned by Pliny, lib. iv. f. 12.

(d) See Suetonius, in Nero, f. 23.

(e) The destruction of the statues erected to the various conquerors in the public games of Greece, is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 24.

(f) See Annals, book xvi. f. 5.

(g) Dio Cassius tells us, that when Nero performed the part of *Cannace*, one of the spectators asked, What is he doing now ? A man answered, *He is in labour*. For a list of the characters acted by Nero, see Suetonius, in Nero, f. 21.

(h) See Crevier's Roman Emperors, Life of Nero, vol. iv. p. 304.

Section VIII.

(a) Suetonius says, Nero, after the murder of his mother, was not able to bear the reproaches of his own conscience, though he had received the congratulatory addresses of the army, the senate, and the people; he frequently confessed that he was haunted by his mother's ghost following him with the whips and burning torches of the furies. *Exagitari se maternâ specie, verberibus furiarum ac tædis ardentibus*. In Nero, f. 34.

(b) When Nero made the tour of Greece, he did not dare to attend the Eleusinian mysteries, having heard the cryer warning all impious and nefarious villains not to approach the place. Sueton. in Nero, f. 34.

(c) Suetonius says, he attempted to call up his mother's ghost, in order to appease and mollify her wrath. In Nero, f. 34.

(d) See this related by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 40.

(e) The territory of Cirrha was for many years annexed to the temple of Delphi : hence Lucan says in his address to Nero :

Sed !

Sed mihi jam numen ; nec si te pectore vates
 Accipiam, Cirrhæa velim secreta moventem
 Sollicitare Deum.

PHARSAL. lib. i. ver. 63.

(f) He became the wife of Pythagoras. Annals, xv. f. 37.

(g) Chrysofomus says, Oration xxi, Nero offered a great reward to the person, who should change Sporus into a woman ; and there were not wanting empyrics, who promised to accomplish that metamorphosis.

(b) For more of her, see History, i. f. 73 ; and see Dio, lib. lxiii.

Section IX.

(a) See Crevier, Life of Nero.

(b) For Sulpicius Camerinus, see Annals, xiii. f. 52 ; and see Crevier, vol. iv. p. 310.

(c) Nero's dislike of every great man at Rome, joined to his rapacity, induced him, by means of his satellites, to kill, or force them to dispatch themselves, the richest and most illustrious of those, who till then had escaped his cruelty. Crevier, vol. iv. p. 311.

Section X.

(a) For this attempt to penetrate the *Isthmus* of Corinth, see Suetonius, in Nero, f. 19 ; and Dio, lib. lxiii.

(b) Pliny relates this fact : *Perfodere alveo navigabili angustias eas tentavere Demetrius rex, dictator Caesar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero, in fausto (ut omnium patuit exitu) incepto.*

(c) For Ascalon, see the Geographical Table.

(d) See the Geographical Table.

(e) For Japha, see the Geographical Table.

(f) See the Geographical Table.

(g) For Gamala, see the Geographical Table.

(h) For the city of Jotapata, see the Geographical Table.

(i) The works of Josephus are well known. They contain a mixture of good sense and credulity, of truth and fable.

(l) For

(*l*) For the city of Tarichæa, see Suetonius, in Tito, f. 4; and see the Geographical Table.

(*m*) Josephus says, Vespasian supplied Nero with six thousand Jews, all strong young men, chosen out of a vast number of prisoners.

Section XI.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Nero, f. 23.

(*b*) For the fate of Corbulo, see Dio, lib. lxiii.

(*e*) The same submission with which so many brave and eminent men received orders to die, fills the mind with astonishment and indignation.

(*f*) For Paëtius Africanus, see Hist. iv. f. 41.

(*g*) For the fate of Craßus, see Crevier, vol. iv. p. 313.

(*h*) See the History, book iv. f. 42.

(*i*) For Regulus, see Pliny the Younger, lib. i. epist. 5; and Life of Agricola, f. ii. note (*a*).

(*k*) For Piso, adopted by Galba, see History, i. f. 15 and 16.

(*l*) See the Geographical Table.

(*m*) Suetonius, in Nero, f. 24.

Section XII.

(*a*) Trachalus was an orator of eminence, commended by Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. He is also mentioned by Tacitus, History, i. f. 90.

(*b*) In the list of Roman poets, whom Quintilian has criticised, no mention is made of Silius Italicus. It is therefore probable, that his work had not appeared, when Quintilian published his Institutes, in the reign of Domitian. Silius (like Lucan before him) undertook to make a great historical event the subject of an epic poem; but departing from the precedent left by Lucan, he has interwoven with the truth too much of fable, and what the critics call machinery. The poem, however, has many beautiful passages. The author raised a considerable fortune, and was possessed of two villas; one that had been the property of Cicero, and the other of Virgil. He lived to the age of seventy-five, and then put an end to his days by abstinence; being instructed in the stoic school, and by the practice of the age, that

suicide was not against the law of nature. Seneca, the admired philosopher, has, among many others, the following maxim: "Live so, as to welcome death; and even if you think fit, to seek it. Whether it comes to you, or you go to it, is immaterial. *Exerce te, ut mortem et excipias, et, si ita res suadebit, arcessas. Interest nihil, an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos.* Epist. lxi. It was not understood by Seneca, nor was the light of nature strong enough to inform the stoic school, that the life into which we are called, ought to be preserved during the pleasure of the Supreme Being that gave it. Pliny the consul gives an account of the death of Silius Italicus. Towards the end of a long life, he had contracted an incurable disease, and therefore resolved to close the scene. He had practised at the bar in the beginning of life, and, in Nero's time, incurred the disgrace of being a voluntary accuser. *Læserat famam suam sub Nerone; credebatur sponte accusasse.* But he afterwards, in a more retired life, retrieved his reputation. *Maculam veteris industriæ laudabili otio abluerat.* He was a poet, but he wrote with more care than genius. *Scribebat carmina majore curâ, quam ingenio.* He possessed a number of villas, and had a large collection of books, statues, and pictures. He celebrated Virgil's birth-day, and visited his tomb near Naples, as if it were a temple. It was his glory, that Nero perished in his consulship, and by that event the world was delivered from a monster. Pliny, book iii. epist. 7. Martial has left several epigrams in praise of Silius Italicus, whom, as it seems, he esteemed and loved.

(c) Suetonius, in Nero, f. 25.

(d) This custom is recorded by Vitruvius, book ix. and Suetonius, f. 25.

(e) Flaminius triumphed over the last Philip of Macedon, and Mummius conquered Corinth.

(f) For Antium, see the Geographical Table.

(b) Suetonius mentions the car of Augustus, and the procession to the temple of Apollo, f. 25.

(i) Suetonius, f. 25.

(k) This was, probably, the conspiracy formed by Vinicius. See Sueton. in Nero, f. 36.

(l) The

(l) The particulars here related, are told by Plutarch, in his Essay on Garrulity.

(m) See Suetonius, in Nero, f. 40.

(n) The Hither Spain was called *Hispania Terraconensis*. In that province, Galba received letters from Vindex, requesting him to put himself at the head of mankind, the assertor of public liberty. Sueton. in Galba, f. 9.

(o) This speech of Vindex is recorded by Dio, lib. lxiii.

(p) Now *Carthagera*, in Spain.

(q) See Suetonius, in Galba, f. 10.

(r) Seneca, and his brother Annæus Mela, were born at Corduba, in Spain. Lucan, the poet, was a native of the same country.

(s) Rufinus Crispinus, the son of Poppæa, by her first husband. He was used, among his play-fellows, to act the part of a general, or an emperor, and for that boyish amusement was ordered to be drowned in the sea. Sueton. in Nero, f. 35.

(t) Suetonius says, Galba, holding a general convention at New Carthage, in Spain, under pretence of presiding at the manumission of slaves, placed around the court the statues or images of several who had fallen victims to Nero's cruelty; and in the midst of his harangue, presented to the assembly a noble youth, who had been banished to the next Balearic island (now Majorca), and was brought from his place of exile to be exhibited as an object of compassion. Sueton. in Galba, f. 10.

(u) Nero called a council of his favourites, and, after a short conference on the state of affairs, passed the rest of the day in shewing some musical instruments, which, on a new construction, were kept in play by the operation of water. He explained the principles of that ingenious piece of mechanism, declaring his resolution to exhibit it on the stage, if Vindex would give him leave. Sueton. in Nero, f. 41. Dio, lib. lxiii.

(w) Nero was the son of Domitius Ænobarbus. See the Genealogical Table. He thought it a disparagement to be called by his paternal name; but nothing enraged him so much, as to find himself railed at as a comedian and harper. Sueton. in Nero, f. 41.

(x) See Crevier, vol. iv. All that follows concerning Virginius Rufus, and the defeat of Vindex, is there related at large.

(y) For the Sequani, the Ædui, Arverni, and Lingones, see the Geographical Table.

(z) For Vefontium, see the Geographical Table.

(aa) Otho, afterwards emperor, was appointed governor of Lusitania, that Nero might secure Poppæa to himself. Annals, xiii. f. 46. Plutarch's Life of Galba.

(bb) For Clunia, see the Geographical Table.

Section XIII.

(a) This incident is told by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 41.

(b) This cargo of sand, with the popular discontents that followed, is stated by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 45. See Pliny, lib. xxxv. f. 13.

(c) For Nymphidius, see Annals, xv. f. 72. For Tigellinus, Annals, xiv. f. 57; and xv. f. 37.

(d) The wild and desperate projects conceived by Nero, in his frantic moments, and brought to light by a favourite eunuch, are recorded by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 43.

(e) The line in the Œdipus of Sophocles is,

Θανέιν μ' ἀνδρὲς συγγαμος, μήτηρ, πατήρ.

(f) Phaon's fidelity is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 48.

(g) The passage in Virgil,

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

ÆNEID. xii. ver. 646.

(h) Locusta has been mentioned, Annals, xiii. f. 15. Suetonius says, that Nero received a dose of poison from Locusta, which he carried with him into the Servilian gardens. Not having courage to use it, he endeavoured to find Spicillus, the gladiator, or some person, to kill him. In that distress, he cried out, *Nec amicum habeo, nec inimicum*. Sueton. in Nero, f. 47.

(i) Suetonius relates this fact, f. 48. Brotier says, Phaon's villa is now called, *La Serpentara*.

(k) See

(k) See Suetonius in Nero, f. 49. *Hostem a senatu judicatum, et quæri ut puniatur more majorum.* It is impossible to read this passage without feeling a thousand mixed emotions. We acknowledge the justice of the sentence; we know that vengeance was due to the perpetrator of so many horrible crimes; and we rejoice to find that the senate could resume its long-forgotten dignity, and act even for a day with a becoming spirit. The interests of humanity required that the world should be delivered from such a monster.

The case is very different, when Louis XVI. is cited to appear before a French Convention. We see the most benevolent of men tried by an assembly of *assassins, plunderers, levellers*, and ATHEISTS; by the scum and dregs of France, mixed with the refuse of other nations. When a good and virtuous, an upright and blameless monarch is sentenced, contrary to every principle of truth and justice, to suffer as a criminal; indignation is, for the moment, lost in astonishment at the daring guilt of men, who have emerged from obscurity to be the tyrants of their country; a PANDÆMONIUM of regicides! France is now left without CHURCH or KING; without law or morals; without a constitution; and without humanity. The nations of Europe shudder with horror at the bloody tragedy that has been acted. The virtues, which the MURDERED KING displayed, with wonderful meekness, on the throne, in prison, and on the scaffold, are now known to the world. They will be transmitted to the latest posterity, and

Will plead, like angels trumpet-tongued, against
The DEEP DAMNATION of his taking off.

But the DEMAGOGUES of France will perhaps not allow that Shakespear is a great moral teacher: let them hear their own Boileau:

Quoi! ce peuple aveugle en son crime,
Qui prenant son roi pour victime,
Fit du trône un théâtre affreux;
Pense-t-il que le Ciel, complice
D'un si funeste sacrifice,
N'a pour lui ni foudre ni feux?

(l) The

(l) The particulars of Nero's flight, above related, and those that follow, are told by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 48.

(m) He took some water out of a ditch and drank it, saying, *Hæc est Neronis decora*. Being taken into the house, creeping on his hands and knees through a hole that was made for him, he lay on a mean bed, with a tattered coverlet thrown over it, and being both hungry and thirsty, he refused some coarse bread that was brought to him, but drank a little warm water. *Quadrupes per angustias effossæ cavernæ receptus in proximam cellam, decubuit super lectum modicellâ culcitâ et vetere pallio strato instructum. Fameque interim et siti interpellante, panem quidem sordidum oblatum aspernatus est, aquæ autem tepidæ aliquantulum bibit.* Suet. in Neron. f. 48.

(n) Suetonius, f. 49.

(o) *Qualis artifex pereo!* Suet. f. 49, where the following circumstances are related.

(p) The line in Homer is,

Ἰππων μὲν ὠκυπόδων ὀμφὴ κλύπος ἔαται βαιλλεῖ.

(q) He said to the centurion, *Sero: et hæc est fides?* Those were his last words. See the description of his ghastly figure, Suet. f. 49.

(r) Suetonius gives the same account of his age. *Obiit secundo et trigesimo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat.* In Neron. f. 57.

(s) The public joy was so great, that the people ran to and fro, with caps upon their heads. *Tantumque gaudium publice præbuit, ut plebs pileata totâ urbe discurreret.* Suet. in Neron. f. 57.

(t) See Suetonius, f. 50.

(u) Suetonius says, *Non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent.* S. 57.

(w) The readiness of the Parthians to assist a pretended Nero, is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 57; and also by Tacitus, History, i. f. 2.

Section XV.

- (a) A number of prodigies mentioned by Suetonius, in Galba, f. i. Dio, lxiii. Pliny, ii. f. 83 and 103.
- (b) Plutarch says he arrived in Spain on the seventh day after Nero's death. See the Life of Galba.
- (c) Plutarch, Life of Galba.
- (d) Galba was born in the consulship of Valerius Messalinus and Cneius Lentulus, A. U. C. 751, on the ninth of the kalends of January, in a villa near Terracina. Suet. in Galba, f. 4.
- (e) See Plutarch, Life of Galba.
- (f) Plutarch, in Galba, gives the same account.
- (g) See Plutarch, Life of Galba.
- (h) Plutarch relates this saying of Mauricus; for more of whom see History, iv. f. 40; and Life of Agricola, f. 45.
- (i) We read in Suetonius, that Galba was governed by three favourites; Titus Vinius, his lieutenant in Spain; Cornelius Laco, who was advanced to the command of the prætorian guards; and his freedman Icelus, who was dignified with the privilege of wearing a ring, and the name of Martianus. To these men Galba resigned himself with such implicit confidence, that his conduct was never consistent; at one time frugal and rigorous; at another remiss, complying, and more lavish than became a prince of his advanced age, who had been raised to the imperial dignity by the voice of the people. Suet. in Galba, f. 14. For more of the three favourites, see the History, i. f. 6 and 13.
- (k) Plutarch, Life of Galba.
- (l) For the origin of Nymphidius, see Annals, xv. f. 72.
- (m) Plutarch, Life of Galba. Cingonius Varro has already occurred, Annals, xiv. f. 45.
- (n) For more of Honoratus, see Plutarch, Life of Galba.
- (o) This speech may be seen in Plutarch.
- (p) See Plutarch, in Galba; though Suetonius says, Galba was no way allied to the house of Cæsar. Suet. in Galba, f. 2.
- (q) All these particulars are to be found in Plutarch.

Section XVI.

(a) Plutarch, Life of Galba. For Mithridates brought before the emperor Claudius, see Annals, xii. f. 21; and History, i. f. 6.

(b) For Petronius Turpilianus, see Annals, xv. f. 72; and History, i. f. 6.

*(c) Suetonius, in Galba, f. 11.

(d) The fate of Obultronus Sabinus, Cornelius Marcellus, and Betuus Chilo, is mentioned by Tacitus, History, i. f. 37.

(e) For Clodius Macer, murdered in Africa, see History, i. f. 3 and 11.

(f) For an account of Calvia Crispinilla, see History, i. f. 72.

(g) Fonteius Capito, History, i. f. 7, 8, and 58.

(h) His name was Julius Paulus Claudius Civilis. For more of this famous Batavian chief, see History, book i. f. 59; book iv. f. 13, 14; and throughout the war, which he waged against the Romans, to the close of book v. f. 26.

(i) Fabius Valens contrived the murder of Fonteius Capito, in the Lower Germany, History, i. f. 7. He is mentioned often as the partisan of Vitellius. He was at last taken prisoner by Vespasian's party. History, iii. f. 43.

(k) This man murdered Fonteius Capito by order of Fabius Valens, and was afterwards given up by Vitellius to the resentment of the soldiers. History, i. f. 58.

(l) See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(m) Suetonius, in Galba, f. 11.

(n) After a reign of luxury and dissipation, the rigid parsimony of Galba was unseasonable, and, by consequence, rendered him unpopular. Suetonius relates several instances of his avarice beneath the dignity of a prince. He adds, that soon after Galba's arrival in Rome, when he attended the performance of an Attelane Fable, as soon as the actors began the first verse of a favourite song,

Venit Io ! Simus a villa,

Here's Farmer Flatnose come from his villa, the whole audience, with

one voice sung the song, repeating the first verse several times. Suet. in Galba, f. 13.

(o) This cruel slaughter is told by Plutarch; Life of Galba.

(p) See Suetonius, in Galba, f. 14; and History, i. f. 6 and 13.

END OF NOTES

ON THE

APPENDIX.

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

O R,

INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PLACES

THAT OCCUR IN THIS VOLUME.

A.
ADIABENE, a district of Assyria, so called from the river *Adiaba*; *Adiabeni*, the people.

ADRUMETUM, a Phœnician colony in Africa, about seventeen miles from *Leptis Minor*.

ALBA, a town of Latium in Italy, the residence of the Alban kings: destroyed by *Tullus Hortilius*.

ALBANIA, a country of Asia, bounded on the west by *Iberia*, on the east by the *Caspian Sea*, on the south by *Armenia*, and on the north by *Mount Caucasus*.

ALESIA, a town in Celtic Gaul, situate on a hill. It was besieged by *Julius Cæsar*. See his *Commentaries*, lib. vii. l. 77.

ANEMURIUM, a promontory of *Cilicia*, with a maritime town of the same name near it. See *Pomponius Mela*.

ANSIBARII, a people of *Cermany*.

ANTIUM, a city of the ancient *Volscei*, situate on the *Tuscan Sea*; the birth-place of *Nero*. Two Fortunes were worshipped there, which *Suetonius* calls *Fortunæ Antiates*, and *Martial*, *Sorores Antii*. *Horace's* Ode to Fortune is well known—

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium.

The place is now called *Capo d'Anzo*.

ANTONA, now the *Avon*. See *Camden*.

AORSI, a people inhabiting near the *Palus Mæotis*; now the eastern part of *Tartary*, between the *Neiper* and the *Don*.

APAMEA, a city of *Phrygia*, near the banks of the *Mæander*; now *Aphiom-Kara-Hisar*.

ARAXES, a river of *Mesopotamia*, which runs from north to south, and falls into the *Euphrates*.

ARAR, or **ARARIS**, a river of *Gaul*; now the *Soane*.

ARBELA, a city of *Assyria*, famous for the battle between *Alexander* and *Darius*.

ARCADIA, an inland district in the heart of *Peloponnesus*; mountainous, and only fit for pasture; therefore celebrated by bucolic or pastoral poets.

ARICIA, a town of *Latium*, at the foot of *Mons Albanus*.

ARII, a people of *Asia*.

ARMENIA, a country of *Asia*, having *Albania* and *Iberia* to the north; divided into the *GREATER*, which extends eastward to the *Caspian Sea*; and the *LESSER*, to the west of the *GREATER*, and separated from it by the *Euphrates*; now called *Turcomania*.

ARSANIAS, a river of the *GREATER ARMENIA*, running between *Tigranocerta* and *Artaxata*, and falling into the *Euphrates*.

ARVERNI, a people of *Ancient Gaul*, inhabiting near the *Loire*; their chief city *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of *Auvergne*.

ASCALON, an ancient city of the *Philistines*, situate on the *Mediterranean*; now *Scalona*.

B.

BACTRIANI, a people inhabiting a part of *Asia*, to the south of the river *Oxus*, which runs from east to west into the *Caspian Sea*.

BAIÆ,

BAIÆ, a village of Campania, between the promontory of Misenum and Puteoli (now *Pozzuolo*), nine miles to the west of Naples.

BALEARES, a cluster of islands in the Mediterranean, of which *Majorca* and *Minorca* are the chief.

BITHYNIA, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine Sea, adjoining to Troas, over against Thrace; now *Becfangial*.

BONONIA, called by Tacitus *Bononiensis*; now *Bologna*, capital of the *Bolognese* in Italy.

BOSPHORANI; a people bordering on the Euxine; the *Tartars*.

BOSPHORUS, two straits of the sea so called; one *Bosphorus Thracius*, now *the Straits of Constantinople*; the other *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, now *the Straits of Caffa*.

BOVILLÆ, a town of Latium, near Mount Albanus; about ten miles from Rome, on the Appian Road.

BRUNDISIUM, a town of Calabria, with an excellent harbour, at the entrance of the Adriatic, affording a commodious passage to Greece. The Via Appia ended at this town; now *Brindisi*, in the territory of *Otranto*, in the kingdom of Naples.

BYZANTIUM, a city of Thrace, on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia; now *Constantinople*. See Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. f. 63.

C.

CALABRIA, a peninsula of Italy, between Tarentum and Brundisium.

CAMELODUNUM, said by some to be *Malden* in Essex, but by Camden, and others, *Colchester*. It was made a Roman colony under the emperor Claudius; a place of pleasure rather than of strength, adorned with splendid works; a theatre and a temple of Claudius.

CAMERIUM, a city in the territory of the Sabines; now destroyed.

CANINEFATES, a people who inhabited the lower part of Germany, the west side of *Batavia*.

CANGI, the inhabitants of Cheshire, and part of Lancashire.

CAPUA, now *Capoa*, a city in the kingdom of Naples. It was the seat of pleasure, and the ruin of Hannibal.

CAPPADOCIA, an extensive country in Asia Minor, upon the Euxine Sea.

CASSIOPE, a town in the island of Corcyra (now *Corfou*), called at present *S. Maria di Cassopo*.

CARTHAGO, a city in Africa, the well known rival of Rome, supposed to be built by Dido seventy years after the foundation of Rome.

CARTHAGO NOVA, a town of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, or the Hither Spain; now *Carthagena*.

CATTI, inhabitants of what is now called *Hesse*, in Germany.

CENCHRIÆ, a port of Corinth, situate about ten miles towards the east; now *Kenkri*.

CHAUCI, a maritime people of Germany, between the *Ems* (Amisia) and the *Elb* (Albis).

CHALCEDON, a city of Bithynia, situate at the mouth of the Euxine, over-against Byzantium. It was called the *City of the Blind*. See Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. f. 63.

CHERUSCI, a great and warlike people of Ancient Germany, between the *Elb* and the *Weser*.

CILICIA, an extensive country of the Hither Asia, with Syria to the east, and the Mediterranean to the south.

CIRRHA, a town of Phocis, near Delphi, sacred to Apollo.

CLITÆ, a people of Cilicia.

CLUNIA, a city in the Hither Spain.

COOS, an island in the *Ægean Sea*; now *Stan-Co*.

COMMAGENE, a district of Syria, with the Euphrates on the east, and Mount Taurus on the north.

CORCYRA, an island in the Adriatic; now *Corfou*.

CORMA, a river in Asia; mentioned by Tacitus only.

CUMÆ, a town of Campania, near Cape Misenum, famous for the cave of the Cumæan Sybil.

CYRENENSES, a people of Africa, in a part now called *the Desert of Barca*. Cyrene their capital city; now *Gurin*.

D.

DAHÆ, a people of Scythia, to the south of the Caspian, with the Massagetæ

on the east. Virgil calls them *indomitique Dabæ*.

DANDARIDÆ, a people bordering on the Euxine. Brotier says that some vestiges of the nation, and its name, still exist at a place called *Dandars*.

DYRRACHIUM, a town on the coast of Illyricum. Its port answered to that of Brundisium, and the passage was ready and expeditious.

E.

ECBATANA, the capital of Media; now *Ham-dan*.

EDESSA, a town of Mesopotamia; now *Orrhoa*, or *Orfa*.

EPHESUS, an ancient and celebrated city of Ionia in Asia Minor; the birth-place of Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher. It is now called *Efeso*.

ERINDE, a river of Asia, mentioned by Tacitus only.

EUPHRATES, a river universally allowed to take its rise in Armenia Major. It divides into two branches, one running through Babylon, and the other through Seleucia. It bounds Mesopotamia on the west.

ÆDUI, a people of Ancient Gaul, near what is now called *Autun*, in Lower Burgundy.

ÆGEÆ, a maritime town of Cilicia; now *Aias Kala*.

ÆQUI, a people of Ancient Latium.

F.

FERENTINUM, a town of Latium; now *Ferentino*.

FERENTUM, a town of Etruria; now *Ferenti*.

FORMIÆ, a maritime town of Italy, to the south-east of *Cajeta*. The ruins of the place are still visible.

FRISI, a people of Ancient Germany, who inhabited what is now called *Friesland*.

G.

GABII, a town of Latium, between Rome and Preneste. A particular manner of tucking up the gown, adopted by the Roman consuls when they declared war or attended a sacrifice, was called *Cinctus Gabinus*. The place now extinct.

GALLIA, the country of Ancient Gaul, now *France*. It was divided by the Romans into *Gallia Cisalpina*, viz. Gaul on

the Italian side of the Alps, with the *Rubicon* for its boundary to the south. It was also called *Gallia Togata*, from the use made by the inhabitants of the Roman *Toga*. It was likewise called *Gallia Transpadana*, or *Cispadana*, with respect to Rome. The second great division of Gaul was *Gallia Transalpina*, or *Uterior*, being, with respect to Rome, on the other side of the Alps. It was also called *Gallia Comata*, from the people wearing their hair long, which the Romans wore short. The southern part was GALLIA NARBONENSIS, *Narbon Gaul*, called likewise *Braccata*, from the use of *bracce*, or breeches, which were no part of the Roman dress; now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*. For the other divisions of Gaul on this side of the Alps, into *Gallia Belgica*, *Celtica*, *Aquitania*, further sub-divided by Augustus, see the Manners of the Germans, f. 1, note (a).

GALATIA, or GALLOGRÆCIA, a country of Asia Minor, lying between *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Paphlagonia*; now called *Chiangare*.

GALILÆA, the northern part of Canaan, or Palestine, bounded on the north by *Phœnicia*, on the south by *Samaria*, on the east by the *Jordan*, and on the west by the *Mediterranean*.

GARIZIM, a mountain of Samaria, famous for a temple built on it by permission of Alexander the Great.

H.

HERMUNDURI, a people of Germany, in part of what is now called Upper Saxony, bounded on the north by the river *Sala*, on the east by the *Elbe*, and on the south by the *Danube*.

HYRCANIA, a country of the Farther Asia, to the south-east of the Caspian, with Media on the west, and Parthia on the south; famous for its tigers. Virgil; Shakspeare, the Hyrcanian tiger.

I.

JAPHA, a strong place, both by nature and art, in the Lower Galilee, not far from *Jotapata*; now *Saphet*.

JAZYGES, a people of Sarmatia Europæa, situate on this side of the Palus Mæotis, near the territory of Maroboduus, the German king.

IBERIA, an inland country of Asia, bounded

bounded by Mount Caucasus on the north, by Albania on the east, by Colchis and part of Pontus on the west, and by Armenia on the south. Spain was also called Iberia, from the river Iberus; now the *Ebro*.

ICENI, a people of Britain; now *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*.

ILIUM, the famous city of Troy, at a greater distance from the sea than what was afterwards called *Ilium Novum*.

ILLYRICUM, the country between Pannonia to the north, and the Adriatic to the south. It is now chiefly comprehended under *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, under the respective dominion of the Venetians and the Turks.

ISICHI, a people bordering on the Euxine, towards the east.

INSUBRIA, a country of Gallia Cisalpina; now the *Milanese*.

ITURÆA, a *Transjordan* district of Palestine, now *Bacar*.

JUGANTES, said by Camden to be the same as the *Brigantes*; but Brotier thinks it probable that they were a distinct people.

L.

LANGOBARDI, a people of Germany, between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, in part of what is now called *Brandenburg*.

LAODICEA, a city of Phrygia, now *Ladik*.

LESBOS, an island in the *Ægean* Sea, near the coast of Asia Minor; now called *Metelin*.

LECHÆUM, the west port of Corinth, which the people used for their Italian trade, as they did *Cenchreæ* for their eastern or Asiatic.

LIGURIA, a part of Italy, extending from the Apennine to the Tuscan Sea, containing what is now called *Ferrara*, and the territories of *Genoa*.

LINGONES, a people of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting in and about *Langres* and *Dijon*.

LUCANIA, a country of Ancient Italy; now called the *Basilicate*.

LUSITANIA, now the kingdom of *Portugal*, on the west of Spain, formerly a part of it.

LYGII, an ancient people of Germany, who inhabited the country now called *Silesia*, and also part of *Poland*.

M.

MARDI, a people of the Farther Asia, near the Caspian Sea.

MASSILIA, a city of Narbon Gaul; now *Marseilles*, a port town of *Provence*.

MATTIACI, a people of Germany; *Mattium*, their capital town; now *Marpurg* in *Hesse*.

MAURITANIA, an ancient large region of Africa, extending from east to west along the Mediterranean, divided by the Emperor Claudius into Cæsariensis the eastern part, and Tingitana the western, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean, to the north.

MEDIA, a country of the Farther Asia, terminated on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the west by Armenia, on the east by Parthia, and on the south by Assyria.

MELITENE, a city of Cappadocia.

MESOPOTAMIA, a large country in the middle of Asia, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

MÆOTIS PALUS, a lake of Sarmatia Europæa, still known by the same name, and reaching from Crim Tartary to the mouth of the *Tanais* (the *Don*).

MILVIUS PONS, a bridge over the Tiber, at the distance of two miles from Rome, on the *Via Flamminia*; now called *Ponte-Molle*.

MISENUM, a promontory in Campania, to the south-west of *Baia*.

MONA, an island separated from the coast of the Ordovices by a narrow strait, the ancient seat of the Druids. Now the isle of *Anglesey*.

MOsa, a large river of Gallia Belgica, which falls into the German Ocean below the *Briel*; now the *Meuse*.

MOSELLA, a river which, running through Lorrain, falls into the Rhine at *Coblentz*; now called the *Moselle*.

N.

NARBONENSIS GALLIA, the southern part of Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenees to the west, the Mediterranean to the south, and the Alps and the Rhine to the east.

NEMETES, a people originally of Germany, removed to the diocese of *Spire*, on the Rhine.

NICEPHORUS, a river of Asia that washes the

the walls of *Tigranocerta*, and runs into the *Tigris*; *D'Anville* says, now called *Khabour*.

NINOS, the capital of *Affyria*; called also *Nineve*.

NISIBIS, a city of Mesopotamia, at this day called *Nesibin*.

NUCERIA, a city of Campania; now *Nocera*.

NUMIDIA, a country of Africa, bounded to the north by the Mediterranean; now the eastern part of the kingdom of Algiers.

O.

ORDOVICES, a people who inhabited what we now call *Flintshire*, *Denbighshire*, *Carnarvon*, and *Merionethshire*, in North Wales.

OSTIA, a town formerly of note, at the mouth of the *Tiber*, on the south side.

P.

PALUS MÆOTIS; see *Mæotis*.

PANDA, a river of Asia, in the territory of the *Siraci*; not well known.

PANDATARIA, an island of the Tuscan Sea, in the Sinus Puteolanus (now *il Golfo di Napoli*), the place of banishment for illustrious exiles, viz. Julia the daughter of Augustus, Agrippina the wife of Germanicus, Octavia the daughter of Claudius, and many others. It is now called *L'Isle Sainte-Marie*.

PANNONIA, an extensive country of Europe, with *Mæsia* on the east, *Noricum* on the west, *Dalmatia* on the south, and the *Danube* on the north.

PARTHIA, a country of the Farther Asia, with *Media* on the west, *Asia* on the east, and *Hyrcania* on the north.

PLACENTIA, a town in Italy; now called *Placenza*, in the duchy of Parma.

POMPEII, a town of Campania, near *Herculaneum*. It was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Nero.

PONTUS, a country situate between the *Euxine* on the east, the mouth of the *Ister* to the north, and Mount *Hæmus* to the south.

PRÆNESTE, a town of Latium to the south-east of Rome, standing very high, and said to be a strong place. The town that succeeded it, stands low in a valley, and is called *Palestrina*.

PUTEOLI, a town of Campania, nine miles to the west of Naples; now *Pozzuolo*.

R.

REMI, a people of Gaul, who inhabited the northern part of *Champagne*; now the city of *Rheims*.

RHODANUS, a famous river of Gaul, rising on Mount *Adula*, not far from the head of the *Rhine*. After a considerable circuit it enters the *Lake of Geneva*, and in its course visits the city of Lyons, and from that place traverses a large tract of country, and falls into the Mediterranean. It is now called the *Rhone*.

RHODUS, a celebrated island in the Mediterranean, near the coast of Asia Minor, over-against *Caria*.

S.

SABRINA, now the *Severn*; a river that rises in *Montgomeryshire*, and running by *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, and *Glocester*, empties itself into the Bristol Channel, separating Wales from England.

SAMBULOS, a mountain in the territory of the Parthians, with the river *Corma* near it. The mountain and the river are mentioned by Tacitus only.

SAMARIA, the capital of the country of that name in Palestine; the residence of the kings of Israel, and afterwards of Herod. *Samaritans*, the name of the people. Some magnificent ruins of the place are still remaining.

SAMNITES, a people of ancient Italy, famous for their wars with Rome.

SARDINIA, an island in the Mediterranean, now belonging to the Duke of Savoy.

SELEUCIA, a city of Mesopotamia, situate at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*; now called *Bagdad*.

SENONES, inhabitants of Celtic Gaul, situate on the *Sequana* (now the *Seine*); a people famous for their invasion of Italy, and taking and burning Rome. A. U. C. 364.

SEQUANI, an ancient people of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the country now called *Franche Comté*, or the *Upper Burgundy*.

SILURES, a people of Britain, situate on the *Severn* and the Bristol Channel; now *South Wales*, comprising *Glamorgan*, *Radnorshire*, *Hereford*, and *Monmouth*. See Camden.

SIMBRUINI COLLES, the Simbrune Hills, so.

So called from the *Simbruina Stagna*, or lakes formed by the river *Anio*, which gave the name of Sublaqueum to the neighbouring town:

SWINDEN, a river that flows on the confines of the *Dabæ*. It is mentioned by Tacitus only. Brotier supposes it to be what is now called *Herirud*, or *La Riviere d'Herat*.

SINUSSA, a town of Latium on the confines of Campania, beyond the river *Liris* (now *Garigliano*). The place was much frequented for the salubrity of its waters.

SIRACI, a people of Asia, between the *Euxine* and the *Caspian* Seas.

SOPHENE, a country between the Greater and Lesser Armenia; now called *Zoph*.

SOZA, a city of the *Dandaridæ*.

SYRACUSE, one of the noblest cities in Sicily. The Romans took it during the second Punic War, on which occasion the great Archimedes lost his life. It is now destroyed, and no remains of the place are left. *Eliam perire ruinae*.

SYRIA, a country of the Hither Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, so extensive that Palestine, or the Holy Land, was deemed a part of Syria.

T.

TANAIS, the *Don*, a very large river in Scythia, dividing Asia from Europe. It rises in Muscovy, and flowing through *Crim Tartary*, runs into the *Palus Mæotis*, near the city now called Azoff, in the hands of the Turks.

TARENTUM, now Tarento, in the province of *Otranto*. The Lacedæmonians founded a colony there, and thence it was called by Horace, *Lacedæmonium Tarentum*.

TARICHÆA, a town of Galilee. It was besieged and taken by Vespasian, who sent six thousand of the prisoners to assist in cutting a passage through the Isthmus of Corinth.

TAUNUS, a mountain of Germany, on the other side of the Rhine; now Mount *Heyrick*, over-against *Mentz*.

TAURI, a people inhabiting the *Taurica Chersonesus*, on the *Euxine*. The country is now called *Crim Tartary*.

TAURANNITII, a people who occupied a district of *Armenia Major*, not far from *Tigranocerta*.

THURI, a people of ancient Italy, inhabiting a part of Lucania, between the rivers *Crathis* (now *Crate*) and *Sybaris* (now *Sibari*).

TIBUR, a town of Latium; now *Tivoli*.

TIGRIS, a great river of Asia, rising in Armenia. It bounds Mesopotamia on the east, while the Euphrates incloses it to the west. It divides into two channels at *Seleucia*.

TIGRANOCERTA, a town of Armenia Major, built by Tigranes in the time of the Mithridatic War. The river *Nicephorus* washes one side of the town. Brotier says, it is now called *Sert* or *Sered*.

TRAPEZUS, a city of Asia, near the Pontic Sea; now *Trebizonde*.

TRINOBANTES, a people of Britain, who inhabited *Middlesex* and *Essex*.

TUSCULUM, a town of Latium, to the north of *Alba*, about twelve miles from Rome. It gave the name of *Tusculanum* to Cicero's villa, where that great orator wrote his *Tusculan Questions*.

TYRUS, an ancient city of Phœnicia, situate on an island so near the Continent, that Alexander the Great formed it into a Peninsula, by the mole or causey which he threw up during the siege. See Curtius, lib. iv. f. 7.

U.

UBII, a people originally of Germany, but transplanted by Augustus to the west side of the Rhine, under the conduct of *Agrippa*. Their capital was for a long time called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, and, at last, changed by the empress *Agrippina* to *Colonia Agrippinensis*; now *Cologne*, the capital of the Elector of that name. The *Ara Ubiorum* was an altar erected by the *Ubii* in honour of Augustus; but whether it was the same as their capital, or a different place, does not seem to be clearly ascertained.

USPE, a town in the territory of the *Siraci*; now destroyed.

VANGIONES, originally inhabitants of Germany, but afterwards settled in Gaul; now the *diocese of Worms*.

VENETI, a people of Gallia Celtica, who inhabited what is now called *Vannes*, in the south of Brittany, and also a considerable tract on the other side of the Alps, extending from the *Po* along the Adriatic, to the mouth of the *Iller*.

VESONTIUM,

VESONTIUM, the capital of the Sequani ;
now *Besançon*, the chief city of *Burgundy*.

VIENNÆ, a city of Narbonese Gaul ;
now *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*.

VOLSCI, a powerful people of ancient
Latium, extending from *Antium*, their ca-

pital, to the *Upper Liris*, and the confines
of *Campania*.

Z.

ZEUGMA, a town on the *Euphrates*, fa-
mous for a bridge over the river. See
Pliny, lib. v. f. 24.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.